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ABSTRACT

Many observers thought that Slobodan Milosevic's fall from power would defuse the political crisis between Serbia and Montenegro (both countries comprise the Republic of Yugoslavia). Instead, Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic sharpened his stance on Montenegrin independence despite Belgrade's desire to maintain the federation. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) remains committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization as well as economic and democratic reforms, either as part of Yugoslavia or as an independent country. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity, improved public outreach by political parties, and the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. The specific objectives of NDI's program in 2001 were: (1) political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making; (2) the parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions; (3) party municipal branches and other functional units become more active in the party life; (4) political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities; and (5) existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government. The quarterly reports state that NDI accomplished the following in 2001: (1) assisted the Center for Democratic Transition with drafting a Code of Conduct for political parties during an election campaign and helped the group prepare for campaign and election-day monitoring; (2) trained the Social Democratic Party to improve its media outreach and direct voter contact; (3) organized a first-ever, multiparty conference for elected members of parliament; and (4) organized the first-ever, multiparty conference for women political party activists and another conference for leaders of women's NGOs. The final quarterly report contains a "Parliamentary Guide." (BT)

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Montenegro: Political Party Building and Civic Development.

Quarterly Reports, 2001.

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Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO: POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
USAID Cooperative Agreement No: EE-A-00-98-00028-00
January 1 to March 31, 2001

I. SUMMARY

Many observers expected that Slobodan Milosevic's fall from power in October 2000 would defuse the political crisis between Serbia and Montenegro, which together comprise the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, following Milosevic's downfall Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic has sharpened his stance on Montenegrin independence despite Belgrade's desire to maintain the federation.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) remains committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization as well as economic and democratic reforms, either as a part of Yugoslavia or as an independent country. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. The specific objectives of NDI's program in 2001 are that political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making; political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions; party municipal branches and other functional units become more active in the life of their party; political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies; and existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

In advance of extraordinary parliamentary elections scheduled for April 22, NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Trained 461 individuals, including 439 political party leaders and activists and 22 journalists on campaign planning and media presentations;

- Assisted the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) with drafting a Code of Conduct for political parties during an election campaign and helped the group prepare for campaign and election-day monitoring;

- Worked with the Association of Young Journalists (AYJ) to develop a draft of rules on media coverage of elections; and

- Conducted a baseline survey in mid-March and distributed its key findings and party specific results at the end of March.

Specific results this quarter include the following:

- NDI contributed to the campaign plans of six political parties and the media plans of five political parties;

- Nine major political parties signed CDT's Code of Conduct on March 27 (see Appendix 1);

- AYJ participated directly in the work of a parliamentary committee and succeeded in getting 90 percent of what it proposed in the draft to be adopted in the final parliamentary decision.

II. BACKGROUND

Speculation regarding when early parliamentary elections would be held dominated the Montenegrin political scene in January. The main opposition party, the Socialist People's Party (SNP), rejected President Djukanovic's initial proposal that elections be held in late March on the grounds that the suggested time was too short to allow parties to prepare. President Djukanovic then suggested April 22, which the SNP accepted but not the Social Democratic Party (SDP).[1] While the SDP did not object to the date of early elections, it wanted to ensure that Djukanovic's proposal included a clause specifying that a referendum on independence would be held by the end of June. After almost one month of negotiations, representatives of parliamentary parties agreed at the end of January to hold parliamentary elections on April 22.

Another important political event in January was the meeting of President Djukanovic with Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and Serbian Prime Minister Designate Zoran Djindjic. They met in Belgrade on January 17 to discuss the future relations between Serbia and Montenegro as outlined in the competing platforms proposed by Djukanovic and Kostunica. Djukanovic's platform outlines the creation of an independent Serbia and Montenegro with shared responsibility in the areas of defense, foreign policy, common market and a convertible currency. Kostunica's platform calls for preserving a loose Yugoslav Federation in which Serbia and Montenegro would not be independent states but would have joint responsibility in the areas of foreign policy, national defense, monetary system, customs, transport and communication, and the protection of human rights and freedoms including social rights. No agreement was reached, but the sides may resume talks after the elections in Montenegro.

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[1] The SDP, together with Djukanovic's Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the People's Party (NS), comprised the ruling coalition, "For Better Life," and has been a strong supporter of Montenegrin independence.

The April electoral showdown will set pro-independence forces, led by the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and SDP coalition, "Victory for Montenegro, Democratic Coalition, Milo Djukanovic," against the pro-Yugoslav forces led by the SNP, the People's Party (NS) and non-parliamentary party Serbian National Party (SNS) coalition, "Together for Yugoslavia." The elections will either prohibit or ordain an independence referendum. If the pro-independence parties win, then the new parliament would call the referendum as soon as possible, perhaps by the end of June although a referendum date could easily slip to the fall, particularly if there are further negotiations with Belgrade after the April 22 elections. If the vote is close or anti-independence parties win, then a referendum is unlikely.

In this political environment NDI focused its political party development activities on working with parties on campaign planning and media presentations. NDI has trained all major political parties other than the formerly Milosevic-allied Socialist People's Party (SNP), including those from both the opposition and the governing coalition as well as parties both supporting and opposing independence for Montenegro. As a result of the SNP's change in party leadership in February 2001 and new efforts to reform the party, NDI expects to begin discussions with the SNP about providing training for the party after the April elections.

Furthermore, this quarter NDI received additional funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to carry out two additional projects: polling (baseline survey and seven tracking polls) through the end of 2001 to assess the political parties' current messages and advise them on their voter universe; and short-term assistance to nonpartisan election monitors. The latter project entails sending one advisor to work with the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) to prepare and implement a strategic plan to observe the April 22 parliamentary elections. The advisor arrived in Podgorica on March 17 and is expected to stay until the end of April.

NDI's specific objectives in 2001 are that political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making; political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions; party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party; political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies; and existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. NDI began working with Montenegrin political parties with USAID funding from its Belgrade office in 1997 and opened an office in

Podgorica in February 1999, with several periods since that date during which the program in Montenegro was inactive due to security and political considerations.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

With the departure of the People's Party from the governing coalition at the end of December, this quarter began with all the political parties focused on negotiations over whether and when to schedule early parliamentary elections. By the middle of January it was clear that these elections would be held in the spring, with the exact date fixed at the end of the month. During these weeks, NDI's representatives held a series of discussions with six of the seven parliamentary parties to establish basic training outlines for the period up to the elections. As detailed below, these training programs focused on developing planning and organizational techniques within campaign and media campaign activities.

During this quarter NDI trained 461 individuals, including 439 political party leaders and activists and 22 journalists. NDI made several attempts to engage with the Socialist People's Party (SNP) but has not yet received a response.

Political Party Building

Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)

Leadership Consultations

- In February, NDI held consultations with Presidential Chief of Staff Mladen Vukcevic on the need for a well-defined election plan and suggested roles for assembling an election team. The Institute advised Vukcevic on the importance of developing a unified message and coordinating its delivery with party branches.

- In February, NDI representatives met with four members of the DPS media team to discuss the need for the development of a clear and defined media plan as well as to comment on the team's campaign plan. NDI also highlighted the importance of a member of the media team being on the central HQ team.

Campaign Planning Seminars for the Municipal Branches

- In late February, NDI organized three one-day training programs for three regional groupings of DPS municipal branches. The first was held in Kotor for the six coastal branches (Bar, Budva, Herceg Novi, Kotor, Tivat and Ulcinj) and Cetinje. The second was held in Zabljak for the northwestern branches (Bijelo Polje, Mojkovac, Niksic, Pljevlja and Zabljak), and the third was held in Kolasin for the northeastern branches (Andrijevica, Berane, Danilovgrad, Kolasin, Plav and Rozaje).

  The programs explained the importance and components of a campaign plan and research phase during a campaign. In addition to engaging participants in a hypothetical voter targeting exercise, NDI also talked about voter contact strategies, especially emphasizing the importance of involvement of the top leadership. Groups were then split into municipalities so they could plan a voter contact strategy. In the report back, NDI demonstrated how all the various voter contact strategies overlapped and how all strategies had to be carefully placed on a large calendar in order to ensure that the branch had enough bodies so that everything would get done. Participant turnout was high at all training programs. Each branch brought between five and seven activists – most of whom were highly engaged – and there were many returnees from NDI's December training programs.

Training for DPS Ministers

- In March, NDI trained eight ministers on door-to-door canvassing. The need for the ministers to set up constituency advice centers was also briefly discussed. Further consultations on how these centers should operate will be considered after the elections. Ministers left the training saying they appreciated all the work that NDI was doing and would certainly begin implementing some of the suggested techniques.

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Leadership Consultations

- In early January, NDI met with SDP Vice President Miko Ilickovic to discuss his party's campaign plan. NDI advised him on a number of suggestions and changes to the plan, including developing an overall party theme, staying on message, and assigning specific tasks to SDP election staff, and then agreed on a comprehensive training program throughout Montenegro. The training would focus on developing planning and organizational techniques within campaign and media campaign activities.

- At the end of January, NDI held consultations with the party leader and four of the six zone managers, all of whom are members of parliament (MPs). Zone managers were appointed in six areas throughout the country and were responsible for their assigned zone, which consists of three to six municipalities. Consultations focused on campaign planning with a special emphasis on the hypothetical voter targeting exercise. In the exercise, NDI estimated that if the SDP goal was five seats, the party needed 20,000 votes, and as the party leadership, it needed to get a commitment from each of the branches about how many votes could be delivered today and how many could be expected by the time of the elections. Then, based on these commitments, the zone managers needed to track the progress of each branch over time.

Media Seminars/Consultations

- In February, the SDP headquarter media and marketing team attended a training seminar in the NDI offices on developing a media and marketing campaign. The seminar examined team members' roles and critiqued previous campaign materials and campaign ads. NDI also advised the team on establishing a clearly defined campaign plan and working as a single entity within a coalition.

- In February, the heads of the media teams from nine municipalities attended NDI's seminar on producing an effective newsletter and how to get the most out of local media.

- At the end of February, Misko Zekovic, head of the SDP's marketing team, asked for NDI's comments on some of his ideas regarding the upcoming campaign. A positive development was that his plans included a lot of what NDI had talked about at the previous seminar, for example, Zekovic started out by identifying the SDP target voters and then planned a campaign around them for the next 2 months.

Campaign Planning Workshops With the Municipal Branches

- Having provided the headquarters in January with an idea of what the overall campaign strategy should look like, NDI began to conduct campaign planning workshops for individual branches or groups of branches throughout Montenegro in February, including the following:
    - Two afternoon workshops in early February for the municipal branch in Niksic;
    - One all-day workshop in mid-February in Kotor for the municipal branches of Herceg Novi, Kotor, Tivat and Zabljak;
    - One afternoon training in mid-February in Kotor for the Kotor and Zabljak municipal branches on questionnaire development;
    - One all-day workshop in mid-February in Budva for the municipal branches of Bar, Budva and Ulcinj (the southern coast branches);
    - One two-day workshop in mid-February in Kolasin for the municipal branches of Kolasin, Danilovgrad and Cetinje; and
    - One all-day workshop in late February in Bijelo Polje for the municipal branches of Andrijevica, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Plav, Pljevlja and Rozaje.

The workshops covered how to write a campaign plan, its importance and its components; research; the hypothetical voter targeting exercise; voter contact techniques; and planning. If there was time, NDI also conducted sessions on fundraising (Niksic) and message development (Kolasin). However, the main goal was to develop or begin developing a written plan.

Leadership Canvassing

- In mid-March NDI met with SDP leaders to discuss canvassing techniques, constituency relations, on-going contact with the electorate and servicing constituency centers.

Media Presentation Skills

- In mid-March, NDI trained two SDP leaders on camera techniques with an emphasis on understanding that statements and/or comments need to be addressed in a different manner than those issued to the press.

Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG)

Leadership Campaign Planning Consultation

- At the end of January, NDI met briefly with the party's president, spokesperson, and a member of the executive committee on hypothetical voter targeting exercise and discussed the need to develop a plan to get the number of votes the party needed to win its seat goal.

Campaign Planning Workshop for Municipal Branches

- In early February, NDI held a two-day campaign planning training in Kotor for seven party branches (Bar, Berane, Budva, Cetinje, Kolasin, Kotor and Niksic) deemed by the party's leadership to have the most potential to garner votes for the party. On the first day, NDI trained participants on the importance and components of a campaign plan, campaign research, voter targeting (using an exercise demonstrating that the Liberals needed to find approximately 40,000 votes if the party intended to get 10 seats in parliament), strategy and tactics, and the role of the campaign team and headquarters. On the second day, NDI conducted a message box exercise and discussed the importance and methods of voter contact. Then, NDI split the group into municipalities for an hour to develop campaign plans. In addition, the party branches made plans for identifying and concentrating their message on three themes in the campaign and developed extensive plans for using local radio, recruiting volunteers and conducting door-to-door surveys.

Training for the Media Team

- In mid-February, NDI conducted a seminar for the media team within the party on the importance of devising a clearly defined media plan, the need to choose specific themes for a specific duration, and the need to stay on message.
- In mid-March, NDI met with Sasa Markovic from the media team to discuss the media campaign. He told NDI that his party conducted out a leaflet drop in the targeted municipalities but did not produce posters because leaders thought that money could be used more wisely.

Leadership Meeting

- In early-March, NDI met with Party President Miroslav Vickovic to inform him of NDI's work with the party to date. In particular, NDI highlighted the party leadership's failure to provide guidance to and communicate with the municipal branches.

- In mid-March, NDI met with party leadership to discuss canvassing such as door-to door, constituency relations, on-going contact with the electorate, and setting up constituency centers to operate throughout their targeted municipalities on a long-term basis.

Follow-up Campaign Planning Workshop

- In mid-March, NDI was invited by the most active branches – Bar, Cetinje, Kotor and Niksic – to conduct follow-up training with the youth leadership. This training focused on assessing the current situation of the party and provided group exercises on hypothetical voter targeting. In addition, at the request of the youth leaders, NDI led a lecture/discussion on fundraising and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts.

Ethnic Albanian Parties (DUA & DSCG)

- In early March, NDI held a training program for 40 members of the Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA) and the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro (DSCG). Each party was asked to invite 20 members from its branches in Ulcinj, Plav, Rozaje and Tuzi. The first day covered the importance and components of a campaign plan, a hypothetical voter targeting exercise, the campaign structure and a message box exercise. The second day consisted of a series of workshops on message and media, voter contact techniques and campaign planning.

People's Party (NS)

Campaign Planning for NS Municipal Youth Branches

- In February and early March, NDI held training seminars with party youth wings on how to conduct door-to-door surveys. Initially, six branches were identified for the training: Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Berane, Niksic, Podgorica and Herceg Novi. Later, the Plav and Andrijevica branches were invited to a training seminar in Berane and the Zabljak branch joined the seminar in Pljevlja. NDI began the training by explaining the importance and components of campaign plans, the need to build a voter file for each polling station and the need to examine the party's accomplishments, as well as its shortfalls on which it could be criticized. NDI prepared a hypothetical targeting exercise based on the 1998 parliamentary election results and a hypothetical seat goal. To obtain 10 seats in parliament, the party would have to find 40,000 votes. The rest of the training concentrated on conducting interactive workshops on questionnaires and how to conduct door-to-door canvassing, designing and using leaflets, recruiting and managing volunteers, and planning effectively.

Attempting to Re-engage at the HQ Level and on the Media Front

- In early March, NDI met with party president Dragan Soc to discuss how NDI could engage the leadership of the party, and Soc suggested training on media relations and communications. A training seminar was held in mid-March for six representatives, including the party vice president, that focused on basic camera techniques and the importance of writing different speeches for different audiences. The difference between electronic media and print media was also highlighted in relation to writing press releases.

Additional Political Party Building Activity – Polling

With additional funding from USAID, NDI fielded the baseline survey in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities from March 15 to 19 to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, Balkan and/or international issues, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. The poll canvassed 1,265 residents. A report on key findings was delivered to USAID on March 27 and released to the media in Montenegro on March 28. On March 28, NDI delivered the results to the NS and conducted a briefing for the party leader. That evening, NDI poll results were announced as the second news item on both State TV and TV Montena. On March 29, NDI briefed the LSCG, DPS and SDP on the poll results and their specific voter universes. Later in the day, NDI conducted a briefing for the international community at the regular OSCE election meeting. NDI continued with efforts to meet with SNP leader Predrag Bulatovic to discuss the poll, but no response was received. Since the two Albanian Parties, DUA and DSCG, were not able to travel to Podgorica to receive the results, NDI e-mailed them the key findings.

The main purpose of the polling was to demonstrate to political parties the utility of strategic polling as a tool to gauge and better respond to the interests and concerns of voters as they develop their platforms and voter outreach programs during this election cycle and beyond. The first round of polling found that economic issues, such as unemployment, were the most important to voters, with state status (independence) ranking a distant second.

Nonpartisan Political Advocacy

Center for Democratic Transition (CDT)

In January and February, NDI met with CDT representatives to help them primarily with fundraising but also to assist them with developing plans for monitoring the upcoming parliamentary elections. Additional funding from USAID enabled NDI to intensify its work with CDT at the end of the quarter. To this end, NDI deployed a short-term domestic monitoring advisor in mid-March who is expected to stay until the end of April.

CDT received NDI support with writing the political party Code of Conduct, developing a strategy for getting parties to sign the Code, and devising the press outreach. In addition to the Code of Conduct, NDI assisted CDT with developing its media and visibility campaign by helping CDT staff identify its target audience and develop storyboards for the advertising campaign. At the end of March, NDI held a training seminar for regional/municipal coordinators on the volunteer recruiting process and on campaign monitoring as well as developing agendas for training regional staff and monitors.

While NDI's primary work with CDT focused on developing and implementing its monitoring effort, NDI also worked with CDT representatives on developing their professionalism and organizational abilities so as to make the organization more effective in its work.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

In January, NDI met with AYJ representatives to assist them with the development of an initiative to advocate for changes in the rules governing media in the referendum campaign period.

Media Training

In mid-March, NDI held a number of meetings with journalists from State Radio and TV as well as independent TV on presenting news and current affairs programs in a fair and unbiased manner.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

During this quarter, NDI saw significant progress toward accomplishing two program objectives:

Objective: Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions.

- Based on the intensive campaign planning and media training seminars conducted this quarter, NDI contributed to the campaign plans of six political parties (the DPS, the SDP, the NS, the LSCG, the DUA and the DSCG) and the media plans of five political parties (the DPS, the SDP, the LSCG, the DUA and the DSCG).

- All parties are now using voter identification techniques learned from NDI. They now understand how to evaluate the electorate by identifying "base," "potential" and "never" supporters, and are drawing up municipality-by-municipality voter lists using these categories.

- Based on NDI's continued training on voter contact, most parties have begun employing personal voter contact techniques as a key part of the campaign. Some parties have used their highest officials to engage in door-to-door campaigning.

- Based on NDI's continued training on questionnaire development, questionnaires have become an accepted and valuable practice by most parties. The DPS prepared a two-page questionnaire that was delivered to voters throughout the country, with a cover note from

President Djukanovic asking for the voter's input. Based on NDI's training in November 2000, SDP/Danilovgrad branch distributed 300 questionnaires and SDP/Cetinje branch distributed 500 questionnaires in February.

- Based on NDI's continued training on newsletter development, the practice of publishing branch newsletters has become more accepted among parties. SDP/Budva branch has established a practice of periodic newsletters for its members and interested individuals and has already published three newsletters since November 2000. SDP/Herceg Novi branch has published two newsletters as well.

- Based on NDI's December 2000 training with DPS branches on constituency servicing, the DPS/Kolasin branch sent letters to voters addressing personal and particular concerns that wrre signed by the ministers from the party.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

- Based on meetings with NDI in January and February, CDT and AYJ prepared plans for monitoring the upcoming parliamentary elections and the media, respectively. Both proposals received funding from the Canadian International Development Agency.

- Based on meetings with NDI in January, AYJ developed a draft for the rules governing media coverage of campaigns and elections, which was then used as the negotiating document in the parliamentary working committee on this issue. AYJ participated in the parliamentary committee and succeeded in getting 90 percent of what it proposed in the draft to be adopted in the final parliamentary decision. Most important among these was that responsibility for balance in media reporting is to be left to the editors, rather than legislated by a multiparty commission. This result encouraged AYJ to push successfully for the establishment of a semi-independent council for public information freedom. Creation of this council was mandated by the Public Information Law adopted several years ago but was never implemented until this year. This council will serve as the public's watchdog for media fairness. Although AYJ is not a part of the council, the council will use the AYJ media monitoring results in its work.

- Based on meetings with NDI in March, CDT completed a Code of Conduct for political parties in election campaigns, which was signed by nine major political parties on March 27 (copy attached in Annex 1). As a result of the signing ceremony, CDT was featured in the *Dan* and *Pobjeda* newspapers, on Montena TV and Elmag TV, and on State Radio, while State TV conducted a long interview with CDT. Shortly before the Code of Conduct was signed, CDT, with NDI assistance, developed one full-page newspaper ad that ran in *Vijesti*, thereby raising its profile and credibility.

- Based on meetings with NDI in March, CDT defined its message for the election monitoring effort, which is "Let Freedom Be Your Choice, Too: Freedom of Opinion, Freedom of Voice, Freedom to Choose, Freedom to Vote, Freedom to Be Yourself! CDT will protect your freedoms by monitoring the campaign and election day." CDT also designed credentials for each observer (to be used in lieu of T-shirts, caps, or buttons) and created full-page newspaper ads, radio ads, TV ads, and leaflets/posters. Lastly, CDT created manuals for observers that will be distributed during the last three weeks of the campaign.

- Based on NDI's work with CDT on organizational development, CDT created a job description for each team and clearly defined responsibilities for the items that fall within the job description. CDT also instituted a daily 5:00 PM staff meeting with the same established agenda in which the staff members present their accomplishments and review the "to do" list.

To a more limited degree, NDI saw progress on the third program objective as follows:

Objective: Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party.

- As noted in the Activities section above, for several parties the role of the municipal branch has become more central to campaign planning and implementation. The results listed under the first objective above also demonstrate how the party branches are increasing their activities in voter identification, newsletter and questionnaire development, and campaign planning. Among SDP branches, for example, there are written campaign plans in the six coastal branches, four of the northern branches and three of the central branches.

- The DPS is also showing signs of paying more attention to the role branches should play within the party. At the request of NDI, at least one member of the DPS executive board attended each of the training seminars with the municipal branches. While the quality of participation varied, this was a useful step in improving contact and communication between party leadership and the branches.

- The leadership of three parties (DPS, SDP and People's Party) specifically asked NDI for an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of their municipal branch and party structure. This is a reflection of greater understanding within the parties about the importance of their branches in the parties' work.

V. EVALUATION

The intensified party training schedule throughout February and March is paying off in terms of progress toward NDI's objectives in that area, particularly in getting key parties to recognize the importance of implementing voter identification techniques and constituency outreach methods (i.e., developing newsletters and questionnaires). Further evidence of the results of NDI's work should become available through the official election campaign that began in earnest just as this quarter was concluding.

The focus in this quarter among the political parties on preparing for the April parliamentary elections did distract the parties from working with NDI on the objective of having political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making. Some developments, such as the interest of the DPS, SDP and People's Party in hearing evaluations of party strengths and weaknesses, indicate that they are aware of the need for reform, particularly in how their parties make decisions and communicate internally. The campaigns, however, have also demonstrated again that all parties remain highly centralized institutions that have much work to do in becoming more democratic bodies.

It is also important to note several other areas where NDI can expand its work to achieve its objectives. One is to expand contacts with the Socialist People's Party (SNP), which is the most important Montenegrin party not to have received training. As a result of the SNP's change in party leadership in February 2001 and new efforts to reform the party, NDI expects to begin discussions with the SNP about providing training for the party after the April elections.

While work to date has had an impact on increasing the role of the branches in the functioning of several parties, further efforts are needed. NDI hopes to engage more systematically with youth and women's organizations in the parties to open participation in party activities.

Additionally, because the parliament dissolved in early February, NDI was unable to train political parties to improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities, including voter contact and media strategies. At present, no useful training on these issues can be undertaken, as no parliament is in place. Depending on the outcome of the April elections and the unfolding of events related to the possible calling of a referendum, it may still be several months before any parliament that has a serious legislative agenda is formed and begins functioning. At that time, NDI plans to resume work on improving the functioning of party caucuses within the parliament.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In the coming months, NDI envisions conducting the activities outlined below. However, these activities will depend on the outcome of the parliamentary elections and the date when and if a referendum on independence is called.

Political Party Building:

- Assess the impact of training provided throughout February and March, particularly as it relates to the conduct of the parties' election campaigns;
- Proceed with the implementation of seven tracking polls that will be completed by the end of 2001;
- Brief parties, Montenegrin media and international community on the polling results;
- Organize a multiparty seminar on developing political and presentation skills for either women political activists or youth;
- Advise parties on the creation of 'Constituency Service Centers' throughout Montenegro;

- Work with the parties to improve their internal structures, especially as regards the involvement of municipal branches and other constituent bodies (womens' and youth organizations) in decision-making; and
- Train parties on improving the functioning of party caucuses within the parliament, if the potential electoral calendar permits a full parliamentary session to be held.

NGO Advocacy:

- Work with nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups to strengthen their organizational and outreach capabilities; and
- Assist nonpartisan domestic monitoring groups with preparations for monitoring the possible referendum on independence.

APPENDIX 1

POLITICAL PARTIES AGREEMENT ABOUT CODE OF CONDUCT DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

An essential part of free and fair elections is the freedom of political campaigning. Everyone has the right to put forward their political principals and ideas without threat or fear. Freedom of political campaigning also carries the responsibility to ensure that all other political party's rights are not infringed.

The political parties who have signed onto this Code of Conduct have agreed to go support free and fair campaign practices. It is each party's responsibility to educate candidates, party workers and supporters of the rules outlined in this Code. It is also essential that each party take necessary steps to ensure its compliance.

- The political parties will respect rival political parties rights to campaign freely during the election period.
- All parties should consider it a responsibility to educate supporters and voters on the voting process and the secret ballot.
- The political parties and their candidates shall extend their cooperation to Election Day workers to ensure orderly voting and voting rights.
- All political parties and candidates should avoid inflammatory messages and remarks in reference ethnic, religious and national identities.
- All political parties and candidates should avoid arrangements involving public meetings, rallies at the same time and in the same place. If such a conflict of time and place should arise, party leaders should co-operate in good faith to find a reasonable accommodation.
- The political parties, candidates and worker shall avoid all corrupt practices such as bribing the voters with money or gifts.
- The political parties should avoid using national or local government resources, office equipment or vehicles for campaign activities.
- The political parties, candidates and workers will not intimidate or pressure voters in any form.
- The political parties, the candidates and workers shall not obstruct or interrupt rallies, meetings or speeches by rival political parties.
- The party activists should not steal or destroy campaign materials of other parties.

- The party workers should respect public and private property and not post signs or paint graffiti in non-designated places.

- The political parties, candidates and workers should refrain from deliberate dissemination of false information to defame other political parties and their leaders.

- Party leaders will instruct their members and supporter that no weapon of any kind may be brought to any political rally, meeting or voting place.

- Speakers at political rallies will avoid using language, which threatens or incites violence in any form against any other person or group of persons.

- If the will of the people is clear on Election Day without major election violations, all parties should respect the results of the election.

- Party Leader Signatures

D P S / Mr. Miodrag Vukovic --

S N P / Mr. Dragan Koprivica --

S D P / Mr. Ranko Krivokapic --

N S / Mr. Predrag Popovic --

D U A / Mr. Ferhat Dinosa --

N S S / Mr. Dusko Jovanovic --

S N S / Mr. Bozidar Bojovic --

N S / Mr. Novak Kilibarda --

D S / Mr. Mehmed Bardhi --

NATIONAL
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FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO: POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
USAID Cooperative Agreement No: EE-A-00-98-00028-00
April 1 to June 30, 2001

I. SUMMARY

Despite the arrest and extradition of Slobodan Milosevic to the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslav president continues to be a destabilizing force in the ongoing political crisis between Serbia and Montenegro. In the midst of a more than two-month negotiation to form Montenegro's government, his transfer has done little to smooth over the deep public divide evidenced in the April 22 election results. These elections failed to produce a conclusive victory for either the pro-Federation or the pro-independence coalitions. At the federal level, Milosevic's extradition prompted the collapse of the governing coalition, which will result in either a new government or early election -- the latter option further destabilizing the republic's political system.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization irregardless of its political status. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs.

NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Assisted the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) in implementing pre-election day activities and implementing a comprehensive election-day monitoring effort, including a parallel vote tabulation (PVT);

- Held a proposal writing seminar for the Center for the Development of Non Governmental Organizations (CRNVO), a grants management seminar for the Association of Young Journalists (AYJ), and a proposal writing and donor relations seminar for the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT); and

- Conducted the first tracking poll survey in early April and distributed its key findings and party specific results in mid-April.

Specific results during this quarter include the following:

- CDT has more clearly defined its watchdog function in the parliament as a result of NDI consultations; and

- By implementing techniques learned in NDI's training, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) improved its media outreach and direct voter contact.

II. BACKGROUND

The main contestants of the April 22, 2001, parliamentary elections were the pro-independence coalition "Victory is Montenegro's – Democratic Coalition Milo Djukanovic" comprising the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the SDP, and the pro-Yugoslavia coalition "Together for Yugoslavia" consisting of the Socialist People's Party (SNP), the People's Party (NS), and the Serbian People's Party (SNS). The Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG) ran independently. Voter turnout was high with 80.84 percent of the electorate casting ballots for the 77-seat parliament. Results of the elections showed an electorate split on the question of independence - the pro-independence coalition received 42 percent of the vote (36 seats in the parliament), the pro-Yugoslavia coalition garnered 40.1 percent (33 seats), and the LSCG received 7.7 percent (6 seats). The two outgoing Albanian Parties, the Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA) and the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro (DSCG), returned with one seat each.

With neither coalition securing the 39 seats needed to form a majority government, intense coalition negotiations began in May. The DPS-SDP rejected a coalition proposal forwarded by the LSCG on the grounds that the Liberals' request for an additional five seats in parliament (at the expense of the DPS and the SDP) was unconstitutional. However, the DPS and the SDP ultimately signed an agreement in late May with the LSCG. Under the terms of the agreement, the six LSCG MPs would support a DPS and SDP minority government for one year in return for a government-organized independence referendum. The government also would pledge to pass a referendum law and call for a referendum within 90 days of the swearing in of parliament. The vote itself would be held within five months of passing the enabling legislation. As a final condition of support, the SPS and SDP elected LSCG spokeswoman Vesna Perovic to speaker of the Montenegro parliament.

In late June, Prime Minister Designate Filip Vujanovic presented an amended version of the government program in parliament. The amended version included articles of the post-election agreement, which stipulate precise deadlines for organizing the referendum on the Montenegrin state status. The LSCG leadership had implied that it would not vote for the government program unless Vujanovic included references to the deadlines. At the time of this writing, the parliament is still debating the government program submitted by the LSCG-backed DPS-SDP coalition.

With the extradition of Slobodan Milosevic, former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) president, to The Hague on June 28, 2001, future SNP participation in the federal government has been called into question. The SNP was the only major party to run in the September 2000 federal parliamentary elections and, as a result, holds 47 of Montenegro's 50 seats in the federal parliament. Prime Minister Zoran Zizic and the federal ministers from the SNP offered their resignations after Milosevic's extradition (the party disagreed with the adoption of the Decree on Cooperation with the International Crimes Tribunal for Yugoslavia, which allowed for Milosevic's extradition). This act resulted in the commencement of negotiations to form a new government and the possibility for early election looming.

In this uncertain political environment, NDI has focused its activities on working with its election monitoring partners, the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT), the Association for Young Journalists (AYJ), and the Center for the Development of Non Governmental Organization (CRNVO), on proposal writing and donor relations. NDI also held a meeting with SNP leadership about future program activities, and began to organize the multiparty orientation seminar for elected members of parliament to be held June 6 to 8, 2001.

The specific objectives for NDI's program in 2001 are the following:

- Political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making;
- Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit and respond to feedback from the grassroots on party positions;
- Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party;
- The parties become more open to the political participation of women and youth;
- Political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies;
- Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition;
- Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

With the results of the April 22 legislative elections offering no clear mandate to either coalition, the month of May began with all political parties focusing on negotiations to form a new government. By the end of May it was clear that these negotiations would be stretched out for weeks to come. During this period, NDI held a series of discussions with party contacts and prepared for the July 6 to 8 "Strengthening Democracy Through Parliamentary Clubs" conference.

Political Party Building

Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)

Leadership Consultations

In May, NDI met with Aco Djurisic, MP and main board member, to discuss the results of the April election, including the make-up of the candidate lists and leadership decision-making. NDI will continue meeting Djurisic in the future to discuss these issues. NDI also informed him of the intention to hold the parliamentary seminar and the women's seminar tentatively scheduled for the autumn.

Also in May, NDI representatives met the new party contact, Igor Luksic. As Luksic is a frequent attendee of NDI seminars, the relationship will progress easily. NDI also discussed its plan for a parliamentary orientation seminar on the role of the party caucus and the MP.

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Leadership Consultations

In mid-May, NDI met with SDP Head of Media and Marketing Boro Banovic to evaluate the effectiveness of pre-election training sessions. Banovic cited that the leadership now understands the importance of direct voter contact as a result of NDI's door-to-door techniques. These techniques attracted more votes in areas that implemented them. Banovic also praised NDI's media training and stated the party applied several of the techniques during the campaign.

Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG)

Leadership Consultations

In mid-May, NDI met Executive Board member Sasa Markovic to discuss the election campaign and results. While some of the discussion focused on coalition negotiations, Markovic noted the party's interest in future training sessions on the organization of party structure, internal communication, and media outreach.

Socialist People's Party (SNP)

Leadership Consultations

At the end of May, NDI met with Party Leader Predrag Bulatovic for the first time. NDI staff used this opportunity to introduce the Institute's work as a whole and its program in Montenegro. When informed about the July orientation seminar for new members of parliament, Bulatovic responded positively.

Political Party Polling

With additional funding received last quarter from USAID, NDI fielded the first tracking survey in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities from April 1 to 4 to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, Balkan and/or international issues, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. The poll canvassed 1,281 residents. A report on key findings was delivered to USAID and released to the media in Montenegro (see attached key findings). NDI poll results garnered strong media attention from TV and radio stations and was covered on the front page of Vijesti and Pobjeda. On April 12 and 13, NDI briefed the LSCG, DPS, the NS, SDP, and the SNP on the results of their specific voter universes so they could focus their communication on issues important to voters.

The main purpose of the polling was to demonstrate to political parties the utility of strategic polling as a tool to gauge and better respond to the interests and concerns of voters as they develop their platforms and voter outreach programs during this election cycle and beyond. The first tracking poll found a major portion of the electorate intending to vote with a continued focus on economic issues, such as unemployment.

The second tracking poll was fielded at the end of June. Key findings will be delivered to political parties, USAID and the public in early July.

Nonpartisan Advocacy

Center for Democratic Transition (CDT)

In April, NDI completed its election monitoring work with CDT. The focus of NDI's work this quarter involved final consultations and preparations for the April 22 elections.

Campaign Rally Monitoring

NDI staff assisted CDT staff and volunteers in monitoring more than 30 of the largest public rallies. In consultation with NDI, CDT developed a rally monitoring form asking if there were state resources spent, any violation of laws, or if there was an active police presence. The election monitoring efforts reported pejorative ethnic comments directed toward Muslims and Albanians at a SNS rally.

Voter Education

The biggest voter education challenge CDT identified was that citizens felt pressure from family, friends, bosses and co-workers to vote for particular parties. Therefore, CDT created a message promoting freedom of choice, voice, and vote. To counteract this obstacle and to generally encourage participation in the April elections, CDT employed the following five means of communicating with the public:

Television: Due to a small television budget, 15-second ads were produced with a storyboard for visuals and dialogue promoting the freedom to choose theme. The goal of the ads was to recruit monitors, and the ads specifically targeted northern Montenegro.

Radio: CDT's radio ad was 30 seconds long and included a five-second local song about freedom of opinion and participation. This ad served to recruit citizens to monitor on election day.

Posters: After much debate, CDT chose a design with mad cows for its posters. This unusual design drew considerable attention from citizens.

Leaflets: Used to recruit monitors, leaflets included the organization's message and mission, the monitor pledge, and a sign-up form.

Newspapers: Two newspaper ads were also run in advance of the elections. The first was a general issue ad prior to the Code of Conduct press conference and the second reprinted the signed code after the conference. Both newspaper ads generated many inquires directly to CDT's office.

Nonpartisan Election Monitoring

Throughout the course of the pre-election campaign, NDI advised on the creation and implementation of CDT's strategy to recruit election-day monitors. The vast majority of monitors were students from universities who were assigned, in most cases, to their home polling stations. In some areas, recruitment efforts were so successful that CDT volunteers identified all monitors three to four weeks prior to April 22.

On April 22, 1,468 monitors trained by CDT, in consultation with NDI, observed election polls in 90 percent of the polling stations. Despite proactive public education, 40 CDT monitors could not get into the polling place with credentials. The problem was quickly resolved and highlighted the professional response of Municipal and Republic Election Commissions. All monitors remained in the same polling place from opening to counting and noticed small errors and problems in the process. Roving coordinators sent hourly reports to headquarters emphasizing the overall lack of significant irregularity. For the few problematic incidents that did occur, media conferences and releases held violators accountable for wrongdoing.

Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)

With NDI's technical advice and assistance, CDT conducted a parallel vote tabulation (PVT), which is a method for monitoring the tabulation of votes whereby election monitors record results obtained from individual voting stations and compare these findings with official results. The PVT sample was conducted in two constituencies: one for the special Albanian seats and one for the larger constituency. NDI staff trained 14 volunteers to receive calls and collect data throughout election day. This election provided a special challenge in that the numbers between the ruling party, DPS, and the main opposition party, SNP, kept moving 2 to 3 percentage points until 11:45 p.m. Additionally, the People's Socialist Party (NSS) was below

(.03%), the three percent threshold that would give it two seats. This narrow margin complicated predictions of final seat tallies.

Organizational Development

While NDI's primary work with CDT focused on developing and implementing its monitoring effort, the Institute also worked with CDT representatives on developing their professional skills and organizational abilities. For example, NDI provided on-camera training for the organization's press secretary in advance of the April 22 elections. In June, NDI Deputy Director for Program Coordination Mary Markowicz trained four CDT staff members, including the press secretary, the financial director, the volunteer coordinator, and the PVT coordinator, on proposal writing and donor relations. As a result of the training session, CDT learned the following three critical points:

- Donors are partners, and relations must be cultivated with past, current and future ones. Donors also appreciate more information that just what is requested in grant agreements.
- Strategic program planning helps refine project goals, objectives and activities.
- A more comprehensive framework and implementation of its future parliamentary program is necessary.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

During this quarter, AYJ released three media monitoring reports, which received much attention from independent and state media outlets. In April, NDI provided consultations to the executive director on time management and delegation. On May 31, Markowicz held consultations with the financial manager and executive director on grants management, including how to read grant agreements and how to meet reporting requirements.

Center for the Development of Non Governmental Organization (CRNVO)

Also on May 31, Markowicz led a proposal writing seminar for the executive director and three staff members. With a special emphasis on developing objectives and evaluation techniques, the participants assessed the following three points as most useful:

- Understanding the difference between a goal, aim, and objective.
- Identifying the connection between objectives and evaluation.
- Defining what a measurable objective is and how to relate that to evaluation.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

During this quarter, NDI saw progress toward accomplishing the following two program objectives:

Objective: Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions.

- Based on NDI's intensive media training seminars conducted last quarter, the SDP noted the use of several techniques, including a more effective and productive marketing campaign, and the elimination of previously used techniques, which were expensive and ineffectual.

- As a result of NDI's continued training on voter contact, the SDP attracted more voters by employing personal voter contact techniques as a key part of the campaign.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

- Based on meetings with NDI throughout the quarter, CDT has more clearly defined its future watchdog function in the parliament. With funding approved by the National Endowment for Democracy, CDT can further solidify and begin to implement activities.

- As a result of its May training with NDI staff, AYJ better understands how to manage funds independently and how to improve reporting techniques. NDI's April training advanced the director's management and delegation capabilities.

- CDT's PVT results, although they differed from the predicted results, served the purpose of preparing parties and the public in advance to accept the close election numbers.

V. EVALUATION

As a result of the April 2001 parliamentary elections, NDI altered its long-term political party building program to respond to immediate pre-election training needs on behalf of its civic and political party partners. Therefore, NDI has yet to implement training on such reform topics as party structure, internal and external communication, direct voter contact, and the role of the party caucus. With preparations for the first parliamentary orientation seminar underway, NDI is now on track with its planned activities. Assuming government negotiations conclude and federal elections are avoided, NDI will begin conducting training sessions in accordance with its approved 2001 workplan. In the meantime, NDI will consult with USAID to further refine program direction that responds to short- and long-term political realities.

Despite election-related modifications to its original proposal, NDI expanded the reach of its political party program this quarter by including the Socialist People's Party (SNP) into the Institute's training plan. As a result of the SNP's change in party leadership in February 2001 and new efforts to reform the party, NDI began productive discussions with the SNP about providing training for the party after the April elections. Immediately following these discussions, the SNP assigned its members to participate in the July 2001 orientation seminar for MPs.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In the coming months, NDI envisions conducting the activities outlined below. However, these activities will depend on the formation of the government, the possibility of the possibility of federal elections, and the date when and if an independence referendum is called.

Political Party Building:

NDI will implement its first training seminar with new MPs in July. The "Strengthening Democracy Through Parliamentary Clubs" workshop was well received by all parties in parliament, and by the new speaker, Vesna Perovic. NDI believes this seminar, that includes the SNP and the SNS for the first time, will set the stage for work on improving caucus organization and increasing political parties' outreach to citizens.

While work to date has had an impact on increasing the role of the branches in the functioning of several parties, further efforts are needed. NDI hopes to engage more systematically with youth and women's organizations in the parties to open participation in party activities. By holding a women's training session in the fall, NDI will address this need.

NDI will also assess the impact of training provided throughout February and March, particularly as it relates to the conduct of the parties' election campaigns. In terms of continuing its polling activity, NDI will complete the second tracking poll and brief relevant actors including political parties, USAID, and the Montenegrin public. Finally, NDI will undertake efforts to advise parties on the creation of "Constituency Service Centers" throughout Montenegro and to improve their internal structures, especially as regards the involvement of municipal branches and other constituent bodies (women's and youth organizations) in decision-making.

NGO Advocacy:

During the next quarter, NDI will work with AYJ, CDT and CRNVO to strengthen their organizational and outreach capabilities. In addition, NDI will assist CDT in implementing its parliamentary program focusing on monitoring and oversight activities.

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Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO: POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
USAID Cooperative Agreement No: EE-A-00-98-00028-00
July 1 to September 30, 2001

I. SUMMARY

Stalled Serb-Montenegrin negotiations and internal debates on the referendum process have dominated political headlines in Montenegro in the last quarter. Although the federal government adopted a platform for redefining relations between Montenegro and Serbia this summer, inter-republic negotiations on this platform and the Montenegrin government platform of December 2000 have been postponed due to President Djukanovic's unwillingness to accept the inclusion of representatives of the federal government. Debate on the referendum process in Montenegro continues as the ruling party attempts to reach a multiparty agreement on the formation of a "concentration" government to bring all parliamentary parties into a government that will prepare and conduct a referendum. The rest of the pro-independence coalition has criticized this proposal and has publicly pledged not to participate in a potential concentration government, while the pro-federation bloc has stipulated that Serb-Montenegrin negotiations must be completed before it will commit to a concentration government.

In this volatile environment, Montenegro's political leaders continue to require the skills to communicate with citizens and to create a political system that allows for informed and open debate. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs.

NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Organized a first-ever, multiparty conference for elected members of parliament (MPs);
- Conducted the second and third tracking political party polls in early July and September, respectively, and distributed key findings and party specific results;

- Provided technical assistance to its election monitoring partners, the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) and the Association of Young Journalists (AYJ); and

- Provided training in a UNDP-sponsored program to 10 NGOs from the north on advocacy.

Specific results identified in this quarter include the following:

- Based on a multiparty seminar for elected members of parliament conducted by NDI in July, the Liberal Alliance in Montenegro (LSCG) party now holds caucus meetings every day. Within the Democratic Party of Socialists' (DPS) parliamentary club, MPs who are members of the municipal boards have been assigned to communicate party policy and accomplishments on a daily basis to other municipal board members.

- Leaders of the Socialist People's Party (SNP), the DPS, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the LSCG report that the NDI polling is invaluable – and not just because of information it provides on where the parties stand and how voters feel about the independence issue. The LSCG and the SNP both noted that they are using the results to hone their messages to target voters. The DPS and the SDP were interested in the economic issues that mattered most to voters and voter reaction to their initiatives.

- CDT released its final report on the April 2001 extraordinary parliamentary elections with concrete recommendations for changing the electoral framework in order to enhance voter confidence in the process.

- The AYJ was invited to join the government working group for designing a new law on public information and a new law on public broadcasting, which shows the credibility that the organization has established since it began working with NDI in 1999.

II. BACKGROUND

In early July, after two months of intense negotiations, the pro-independence coalition (the DPS and the SDP) formed a minority government with the support of the LSCG. The LSCG pledged its support for a year under the condition that the government organize a referendum on state status, which the government has pledged to do in early 2002.

However, there is no consensus among parties on a referendum law. Although the pro-independence coalition has the parliamentary majority needed to pass a new referendum law and call the vote, the DPS is hesitant to undertake such actions because the opposition "Together for Yugoslavia" coalition (the SNP, the People's Party (NS), and the Serb People's Party (SNS)) threatens to boycott the referendum unless it is involved with the oversight of its preparations and execution. Because the DPS realizes that a boycott will undermine internal and international legitimacy of any referendum outcome and that participation of the pro-federation coalition is crucial for the implementation of that outcome, the DPS has proposed creating a "concentration" government. Such a government would include the participation of all parliamentary parties in the preparation and conduct of the referendum. The LSCG and the SDP publicly criticized this proposal and stated that they will not join because, suspicious of the SNP's motives for suggesting and supporting such a government, they fear it could be used as a mechanism for permanently delaying the referendum process. After a range of conflicting statements from the pro-federation coalition about the intention of the concentration government, the SNP recently announced that it wants to wait until the outcome of Serb-Montenegrin negotiations before signing onto a concentration government.

To date, even the beginning of Serb-Montenegrin negotiations is uncertain. Yugoslav Federal President Kostunica called off Serb-Montenegrin talks on the two platforms (one adopted by the federal government in August 2001 and another adopted by the Montenegrin government in December 2000) after President Djukanovic and Prime Minister Vujanovic refused to participate in an initial dialogue to which Federal Prime Minister Dragisa Pesic had been invited. Although the Montenegrin representatives support holding negotiations on Serb-Montenegrin relations, they insist that negotiations be held between Serbian and Montenegrin officials with President Kostunica (if he so desires) as the only representative of the federal government. In the official Montenegrin view, participation by a federal official would legitimize what Montenegro considers to be an illegitimate institution, which was elected based on illegally adopted amendments to the federal constitution and despite a Montenegrin government-organized boycott last year. President Kostunica is expected to announce in the coming weeks a new formula for inter-republic negotiations on future relations between Serbia and Montenegro.

In this political environment, NDI is conducting a program to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs.

The specific objectives of NDI's 2001 program are the following:

- Political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making;
- Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit and respond to feedback from the grassroots on party positions;
- Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party;
- Parties become more open to the political participation of women and youth;
- Political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies;
- Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition;
- Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Building

Political Parties in Parliament

The parliamentary elections of April 2001 reconfigured the Montenegrin Parliament: almost 40 percent of MPs are new and an increased proportion of them are women; one new parliamentary caucus (the SNS) was formed; and one caucus (the NS) nearly doubled in size. This newly configured parliament has a full agenda of reform priorities. In response to the expressed interest of MPs to improve their understanding of how parties work effectively in parliament and the role of MPs as legislators and public servants, NDI held a seminar "Strengthening Democracy through Parliamentary Clubs," for all elected MPs in early July in Igalo.

The objectives of this seminar were the following:

- To provide MPs with a broader understanding of their complex roles as members of a party, members of a law-making body, representatives of voters, and coalition partners to other member parties in parliament;
- To introduce MPs to the skills which they need to organize themselves and their party groups/caucuses and the role that organization can play in making themselves more effective as legislators and representatives of their constituencies and parties; and
- To encourage interaction among MPs regardless of party affiliation and to give them the opportunity to understand that all parliamentarians face similar difficulties, not only parliamentarians in Montenegro, but also parliamentarians from other democracies.

Based on consultations with leaders of all the parties represented in parliament, the topics covered defining roles within parliamentary parties, establishing committees, improving party communications, and understanding rules of parliament. The following elected members of parliament participated in the seminar: Matyas Eorsi, Hungarian MP, Graham Steele, Canadian MP, and Enda Kenny, Irish MP. Additionally, NDI/Montenegro Director Niamh O'Connor, NDI/Banja Luka Director Shauna Martin, and NDI/Bulgaria Director Rick Asplund, moderated sessions and added their own insights as parliamentary experts from Ireland, Canada and the United States respectively. Out of a total of 77 MPs, 32 attended the seminar; all political parties were represented with the exception of the ethnic Albanian parties.

The seminar was the first-ever, multiparty parliamentary conference in Montenegro. It provided a unique experience for the MPs to network across party lines in an informal atmosphere for the first time. The seminar received high marks from all participants. The most highly rated sessions were those on party communications and constituency clinics, staff support and ethics in parliament.

Initial feedback, as indicated on the evaluation forms and during follow-up meetings with most party contacts, shows that MPs began to understand the complex roles and responsibilities that a parliamentarian possesses. MPs also stated that they valued the time to interact informally outside of the parliament because this interaction allowed them to realize that each faces similar difficulties. All attendees expressed interest in follow-on seminars in the future.

Political Party Polling

NDI fielded the second and third tracking surveys in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities in late June and mid-September, respectively, to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, Balkan and/or international issues, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. A report on key findings was delivered to USAID and released to the media in Montenegro in early July and late September. NDI poll results in July garnered moderate media attention with radio and newspaper reports focusing on the economic findings of the poll. In September, NDI poll results received strong media attention from TV and radio stations and were covered on the front page of the independent daily *Vijesti* and in the opposition paper *Dan*. NDI briefed the leadership of LSCG, DPS, NS, SDP, and SNP on the key findings and on their specific voter universes so they could focus their communication on issues of importance to voters. Additionally, NDI sent the key findings by e-mail to the smaller parliamentary parties – SNS, Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA) and Democratic Alliance of Montenegro (DSCG).

Conducted in a period of political uncertainty, both polls exhibited growing voter uncertainty about the political process and its direction. For the third and fourth time, the polls showed that the most defining division of opinion among voters is based on a voter's ethnic identification – with Muslims being strongly enthusiastic about the Montenegrin government and its policies, Montenegrins, Croats, Albanians and others being mildly enthusiastic and Serbs being the most pessimistic about the policies of the governing majority. And, for the fourth time, the economy continued to be the most important issue for voters when deciding for whom to vote.

The September survey enabled NDI to review a six-month period of public opinion. The Institute noticed a 10 percent decline in support for "independence," a 15 to 20 percent decline in trust for the pro-independence leadership and republican institutions, and increased concern about individual economic security. Since the summer had been full of government, parliamentary and federal parliamentary/governmental activity, the September survey asked voters about their awareness of specific initiatives and their trust about whether they would be implemented and yield results. Although respondents were knowledgeable about the initiatives, especially the campaign against the gray market economy and mass voucher privatization, no more than 50 percent believed that any of the offered initiatives would yield results.

NGO Development

Center for Democratic Transition (CDT)

CDT Report on Elections

NDI worked with CDT to draft concrete legal recommendations for amendments to the election framework based on CDT's observation of the April 2001 parliamentary elections. CDT released the final report in early September, which describes its activities and details the flaws of the Law on the Election of Councilors and Representatives. Some of the recommendations advocated by CDT include: a change in the provision that allows political party leaders to change the order of the candidate list after the elections; improved legal specifications regarding the timing and procedures to be followed when elections are annulled; and addressing the ambiguity in the method of apportioning parliamentary seats to the ethnic Albanian district. CDT also notes that the Law on Financing of Political Parties needs to be revised to include specific provisions mandating the disclosure of campaign contributions.

Transparency of Parliament

Demonstrating CDT's growing ability to raise its own funds, CDT was awarded grants from the National Endowment for Democracy and USAID/OTI for a program to promote the transparency of parliament and to educate citizens about its functions. During the past several months, NDI has worked with CDT on planning of this program as part of the Institute's goal to strengthen the country's political system by promoting citizen political participation.

At present, CDT is working to finalize a 10-question man-on-the-street-poll to see how much citizens know about the functioning of parliament. In addition, CDT is working on a citizen's guide to parliament to be distributed throughout the country. Through a variety of comparative documents produced by NDI from its programs around the world, the Institute provided valuable comparative examples that have contributed to CDT's design. In the next quarter, CDT will present a draft of its citizen's guide to the parliamentary leadership to check its accuracy. CDT is also negotiating with the speaker of the Assembly to see if citizen tours of the parliament would be permissible. The initial idea is to organize these tours for students of the various faculties of the University of Podgorica in order to educate and raise their awareness of the parliament's functioning.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

During this quarter, NDI continued to hold consultations with AYJ and provide support for its numerous activities, including AYJ's participation in the government working group that will draft a new broadcast media law. In the working group AYJ will focus on the composition of the bodies in charge of supervising the public media (controlling bodies) and they will argue that party representatives should not be a part of the controlling bodies. While USAID-funded ProMedia/IREX best delivers advice on the specific provisions of this section of the law, NDI's advisory role is in the area of effective advocacy.

NGO Advocacy

In early and late August, NDI provided training on advocacy for 10 NGOs in the northern municipalities through a UNDP-sponsored program. NDI agreed to participate because the program furthered NDI's objective to assist existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations to become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government. NDI's contribution was limited to delivering training during the two two-day seminars; UNDP identified and paid for the participation of the NGOs and other trainers in the seminars. It was hoped that NGOs in the north would increase their understanding of civic involvement and advocacy and their project planning and implementation skills so that they could engage effectively in holding government accountable. Three staff members of NDI's civic partner, the Center for the Development of the NGOs (CRNVO), also participated as facilitators.

The aims of the first two-day training seminar were to increase participant understanding of the role of a strong civil society in achieving good governance practices, increase understanding of the role of NGOs in improving government (central and municipal) policies and practices, advance NGO skills in advocacy and increase understanding of the importance of good cooperation within the NGO community and with government structures. The objectives of the second training were to improve project planning skills, improve advocacy skills using concrete ideas for action, explore models of cooperation with government, apply the themes covered in the first phase to the needs of each particular NGO, and discuss the project proposals from the NGOs to be submitted to the UNDP.

In addition to teaching the NGOs about a multi step process of advocacy planning, NDI emphasized the need to involve competent government institutions constructively in the resolution of their problem, identify the official representative who can solve the community's problem and design activities related to influencing this individual. In the next quarter, the NGOs will receive funding from the UNDP to implement projects for community improvement and advocacy. The effective implementation of these programs will show the value of NDI's contribution.

AYJ and CDT Cooperative Training

On September 6 and 7 NDI/Kosovo brought Kosovo Action for Civic Initiatives (KACI) leaders together to develop their plans for monitoring the upcoming November elections. In addition to trainers from the Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID), representatives from CDT and AYJ provided valuable insights into election related issues. CDT discussed election monitoring by describing methods to determine the number of polling stations to monitor, setting attainable volunteer goals and developing effective training plans. AYJ talked about the methodology it uses in monitoring the media on a weekly basis in pre-election periods.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

This summer quarter provided an opportunity for the NDI/Montenegro team to contact its political party interlocutors to begin a review of the results and accomplishments of the program. Listed below are the results and accomplishments related specifically to the current reporting period. A comprehensive list of all results and accomplishments witnessed to date based on training and consultations since the beginning of the grant period will be submitted in a separate document.

Objective: Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit feedback from the grassroots on party positions.

- With the establishment of the new government, DPS and SDP ministers declared Wednesdays to be "citizens' days" – all ministers are available in their offices on Wednesdays to talk with citizens.

Objective: Political parties begin to implement effective democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making.

- DPS appointed seven members of the executive board to be in charge of communication with three municipal branches each.
- Prior to the October 6, 2001, 4th Party Congress, the DPS issued a report on the state of the party organization, acknowledging that in the last four years there has been a lack of interaction between the ministers and presidents of municipal boards and local party branches. Due to NDI training for municipal branch leadership on its role in relationship to the party headquarters (and the attendance of Executive Board members at these training events), the party understands that its internal communications to date are weak. In the near future, NDI will be able to work with the party to augment and improve its two-way internal communication.
- Within the DPS parliamentary club, MPs who are members of the municipal boards have been assigned the responsibility to communicate party policy and accomplishments on a daily basis to other municipal board members.

Objective: Parties become more open to the political participation of women and youth.

- During the October 6, 2001, 4th Party Congress, the DPS is expected to include an amendment in the party statutes officially recognizing the Youth Council as an organ within the party. The DPS established a Youth Council in 1998 and has been working since 1999 on creating a youth club in each municipal branch. NDI worked intensively for three months in 1999 with the Podgorica youth club. During that time, NDI discussed the role of the Youth Council and discussed specific intra-party advocacy efforts that could be employed to formally recognize the role of the Youth Council within the party – an interest of the Podgorica youth club.

Objective: Political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies.

- Based on NDI's multiparty seminar for elected members of parliament in July, the LSCG now holds caucus meetings every day. Within the DPS parliamentary club, MPs who are members of the municipal boards have been assigned to communicate party policy and accomplishments on a daily basis to other municipal board members.

Objective: Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and policies put forward either as members of the government or opposition.

- Leaders of the SNP, DPS, SDP and LSCG report that NDI's polling is invaluable – and not just because of information it provides on where the parties stand and how voters feel about the independence issue. The LSCG and the SNP both noted that they are using the results to hone their messages to target voters. The DPS and the SDP were interested in the economic issues that mattered most to voters and the voter reaction to their initiatives.

- The leadership of each of the parties is beginning to exhibit a better understanding of the utility of polling information as evidenced by the high-level participation in the briefings (with the exception of the NS), lengthier briefings with more interaction and requests for explanations, and more targeted questions and a focus on the issues in the individual party briefings. In September, the DPS and the SDP requested additional analysis on several issues of interest in an effort to understand better their electorate's opinion.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

- CDT released its final report on the April 2001 extraordinary parliamentary elections with concrete recommendations for changing the electoral framework in order to enhance voter confidence in the process.

- The AYJ was invited to join the government working group for designing a new law on public information and a new law on public broadcasting, which shows the credibility that the organization has established since it began working with NDI in 1999.

V. EVALUATION

NDI's political party program continues to bear fruit in spite of the tumultuous nine months which included a government collapse, prolonged negotiations to schedule a date for new elections, lengthy negotiations to form a new government, and circular discussions about a potential referendum. NDI's survey of its political party partners demonstrated significant changes in the way parties operated during the previous election cycles, particularly in getting key parties to recognize the importance of implementing voter identification techniques, media strategy and constituency outreach methods. Political parties are also undertaking initiatives to communicate with youth and women by including them in party decisionmaking and structures.

Multiparty Seminar for MPs

The "Strengthening Democracy Through Parliamentary Clubs" seminar was the first in a series of training sessions with the MPs that will be conducted throughout the year and beyond. It is also the first time that NDI/Montenegro worked with the party caucuses as a unit. Although the number of participants was less than anticipated, all parties except the two Albanian parties, were represented. Vesna Perovic, the speaker of the Montenegrin parliament, showed her support for the seminar by attending a part of the session on one day.

Polling

The main purpose of the ongoing polling is to demonstrate to political parties the utility of strategic polling as a tool to gauge and better respond to the interests and concerns of voters. NDI planned to complete a baseline and seven tracking polls by the end of the year on the basis of a tight electoral schedule but was unable to do so given the protracted negotiations on a formation of the new government and lengthy discussions about a potential referendum. NDI will look to complete the remaining three tracking polls at appropriate intervals in the coming months, which will provide NDI and the parties with one year of solid data showing that, regardless of political developments on state-status, the most important issue for the average Montenegrin voter continues to be his/her economic status and standard of living. NDI will discuss the possibility of a no-cost extension with USAID.

Based on the four polls that NDI has conducted since March, NDI notes that the parties are using the results to target their public messages more effectively. It is hard to say, however, whether party platforms or policies can really be changed at this moment in time. Platforms are documents that offer a policy statement for each and every responsibility of the republic government. These documents are not widely read and are not differentiated among parties. Moreover, in the current atmosphere dominated by the unresolved issue of Montenegro's state status, "policy" essentially boils down to pro-independence or pro-federation. It is hoped that, when Montenegro's state status is finally resolved, the parties will begin to differentiate themselves ideologically and be able to use the issue-specific results produced by the polls more effectively.

The inclusion in the September survey of the political initiatives – and, voter awareness of these initiatives and faith that they would yield results – were particularly interesting for both governing and opposition parties. This question was never used before because, prior to now, there have been few political initiatives to test. Now, the parties seem to understand their policy role: the need to have policies and initiatives and to pursue them, rather than to always react to the initiatives of the major governing party. That is, one must figure out what type of power one has – be it parliamentary control or executive control – and use it. In addition, with the September survey, there was evidence that the reliability and subject of the NDI polls are of interest to a growing audience of key decision makers as evidenced by first-time requests for copies of the key findings from the offices of the vice prime minister for political relations and the speaker of parliament.

NGO Development

As a result of NDI's cooperation with UNDP, 10 NGOs (and 30 individuals) from the much-neglected northern part of Montenegro have the introductory skills necessary to engage in advocacy and/or watchdog functions as NGOs. NDI plans to follow the work of these NGOs to track their utilization of these skills and the impact they have on society in the north and throughout out the republic.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In the coming months, NDI envisions conducting the activities outlined below. However, these activities will depend on developments on the Serb/Montenegrin negotiations, which could lead either to the scheduling of a referendum or the calling of a federal election.

Political Party Building:

- NDI hopes to engage more systematically with youth and women's organizations in the parties to open greater citizen participation. NDI will address this objective by holding a women's seminar in November with political and civic activists.

- NDI plans to complete the fourth tracking poll in November and brief relevant actors including political parties, USAID, and the Montenegrin public. Depending on political developments, NDI may try to organize a fifth tracking poll in December.

- Given staff availability and political developments, NDI would look to try to build on its work with the parties in parliament by organizing several individual workshops for the parties on parliamentary party caucus organization.

NGO Advocacy:

- During the next quarter, NDI will work with AYJ, CDT and CRNVO to strengthen their organizational and outreach capabilities. In addition, NDI will continue to assist CDT in implementing its parliamentary program focusing on monitoring and oversight activities.

NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Quarterly Report
MONTENEGRO:
POLITICAL PARTY BUILDING AND CIVIC DEVELOPMENT
USAID Cooperative Agreement No: EE-A-00-98-00028-00
October 1 to December 31, 2001

I. SUMMARY

Uncertainty over the question of Montenegrin independence has continued with no end in sight to the political crisis. An October meeting among Serb, Montenegrin and Federal representatives did not resolve the federation's future. Although the U.S. and the European Union (EU) have pressured Montenegrin authorities to resume dialogue with Serbia and abandon independence plans, the Montenegrin government announced that the issue would be decided in a referendum held in early 2002. However, at the insistence of EU High Representative Javier Solana, the negotiations on the future of the federation resumed in mid-December. Meanwhile, a draft referendum law, heavily criticized by the OSCE since it provides for passage by simple majority only, did not pass in parliament. The pro-Yugoslavia opposition continued to demand an investigation of cigarette smuggling operations that implicate President Milo Djukanovic.

Whether independent or not, Montenegro's transition to a modern European actor will depend on its ability to build a democratic system that allows for informed and open debate related to the political reform process. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to supporting democratic reforms in Montenegro as it addresses the continued need for internal political liberalization. The long-term goal of NDI's Montenegro program is to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs. The Institute received a no-cost extension of its regional cooperative agreement through July 31, 2002, but anticipates completing activities in Montenegro by April 30, 2002.

NDI conducted the following activities this quarter:

- Organized the first-ever, multiparty conference for women political party activists and another conference for leaders of women's NGOs;
- Fielded the fourth tracking political party poll and distributed key findings and party specific results; and
- Held two single-party workshops on party caucus communications for the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) and the Socialist People's Party (SNP).

Specific results identified this quarter include the following:

- The NDI seminar for women's branches of the political parties transferred skills to participating women, but each participating party branch left the seminar with an action plan for the future on such issues as establishing a women's branch, and increasing women's membership in the party.
- In consultation with NDI, the Center for Democratic Transition (CDT) published and began to distribute the citizen's guide to parliament and "how a bill becomes law." A number of political parties – including the Liberal Alliance, SNP, DPS and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) have commented on how professional and useful the publication will be.

II. BACKGROUND

Protracted and chaotic negotiations continue to dominate the political environment with some observers now relying on a possible EU-brokered resolution. During the quarter, the debate over the referendum completed a full circle. It began with attempts at inter-republican negotiations, which were concluded on October 26, 2001. In a three-hour meeting of principals from Serbia, Montenegro and the Federation, it was determined that the two proposals (a union of sovereign states or a renegotiated federal compact) were irreconcilable and that a referendum in Montenegro needed to be held. Meanwhile, the pro-independence parties in parliament worked alone on a new referendum law. The international community, namely the OSCE, criticized the new draft for eliminating the qualified majority provision although tacitly recognized that a referendum was inevitable. With the Together for Yugoslavia coalition's boycott of parliamentary sessions, the pro-independence parties finally met in plenary to vote on the draft referendum law on November 29. After a month spent trying to reach a quorum, the law ultimately failed. Discussions to organize a concentration government and then a referendum were ready to begin when the EU's High Representative for Foreign Policy and Security, Javier Solana, arrived in Podgorica. During this December 2001 visit and subsequent meetings in Belgrade, Solana pressured the DPS government to return to negotiations with Serbia, offering himself as an arbiter/observer/facilitator, and now the question is back at the negotiating table that seats representatives from the two republican governments and the Federal government.

Initial talks beginning in mid-December included FRY President Vojislav Kostunica, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Miroljub Labus, Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic and Serbian and Montenegrin Prime Ministers Zoran Djindjic and Filip Vujanovic. The outcome of the first meeting resulted in the formation of expert teams to discuss redefinition of the federation and the consequences of its cessations. Rather than dealing with the issue of one or two seats at the UN, these discussions are to focus on issues of border regime, citizenship, and property, citizens' and political rights. The teams reportedly have until the middle of January 2002 to come up with a report that will be considered by the principals. The pro-Montenegrin authorities are increasingly isolated in a struggle against the Serbian and Federal authorities, the Montenegrin opposition and the international community – and, yet, they seem more determined than ever.

While making little progress on the state status issue, parliament was also mired in an opposition boycott over the expiration of a special commission investigating the authenticity of a series of articles implicating top government officials in nefarious cigarette smuggling acts tied to the mafia. In an attempted show of force, the opposition parties walked out of parliament when the commission's mandate expired November 2 and refused to return until the extension of the mandate was placed on the agenda. The speaker refused to discuss a change in the agenda until the proposed new referendum law was discussed. On December 6, the opposition returned after a formula was worked out for the commission's extension with the support of the Liberals and the Albanian parties.

The success of Montenegro's democratization process will be determined by the degree to which it constructs a multiparty political system based on accountability, transparency, and representation. To this end, NDI is conducting a program to strengthen Montenegro's emerging democratic political system through increased organizational capacity of and improved public outreach by political parties and through the initiation of direct participation in the political process by nongovernmental organizations as a means to promote civil society and broad-based citizen participation in political affairs.

The specific objectives of NDI's 2001 program are the following:

- Political parties begin to implement democratic forms of internal debate and decision-making;
- Political parties increase their direct contact with voters and solicit and respond to feedback from the grassroots on party positions;
- Party municipal branches and other functional units (i.e., women's groups, youth chapters, etc.) become more active in the life of the party;
- Parties become more open to political participation of women and youth;
- Political parties improve the work of their caucuses inside parliament and more effectively integrate the caucus into general party activities including voter contact and media strategies;
- Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition; and
- Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Building

Women's Seminars

From November 2 through 6, NDI held two seminars to help build the skills and knowledge of Montenegrin women political party and non-governmental organization (NGO) activists. The first seminar called *Women in Political Parties: Increasing their Influence* included more than 40 women members of seven parties represented in the Montenegrin parliament. The second seminar called *Defining a Women's Agenda for Action* – organized in cooperation with the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and USAID/OTI (Office of Transition Initiatives) – included approximately 25 women NGO activists and 20 to 25 women trade union activists.

International trainers included Amy Conroy, the former executive director of both the Women's Leadership Forum of the U.S. Democratic National Committee and the Women's Campaign Fund; Kate Fearon of NDI/Bosnia-Herzegovina, a co-founder of the non-sectarian women's political party, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; Mica Mladineo of NDI/Croatia, long-time trainer and co-founder of the NGO BaBe; and Dina Loghin, an executive director of Equal Opportunities for Women, a Romanian women's NGO. Five trainers from the NDI/Bosnia (Tanja Kremenovic and Amila Ibrahimovic) and NDI/Serbia (Nevena Ivanovic, Mirjana Kovacevic and Mirjana Barbulovic) programs acted as trainers/facilitators for break-out sessions. The seven regional trainers' participation provided invaluable experiences that leveraged lessons learned from other transition countries.

> *"Extremely useful and interesting lectures. The experiences brought to us by guests from USA, Northern Ireland and Croatia were especially interesting, as well as information we got by working in workshops."*
> - seminar participant

The specific focuses of the women in politics seminar were to increase understanding of the role of women in parties, increase influence of women in parties, and strengthen concrete skills related to women's political participation so they could reach their goals. In response to participants' requests, NDI added several plenary sessions regarding leadership, networking and how to hold a meeting. All of these sessions were designed to demonstrate the characteristics of effective, democratic leadership and organization.

The seminar for women NGOs focused on the strategic planning process and on the need to coalesce in order to leverage resources. The seminar divided the group into two smaller issue-focused workshops to work through advocacy efforts in domestic violence and trafficking, and women's involvement in politics. The domestic violence/trafficking group developed a medium-term plan of collective action to train police and health workers about identifying and reporting problems of domestic violence. Included in this plan were an identification of targets, tactics, allies and opponents and development of a clear message and media plan.

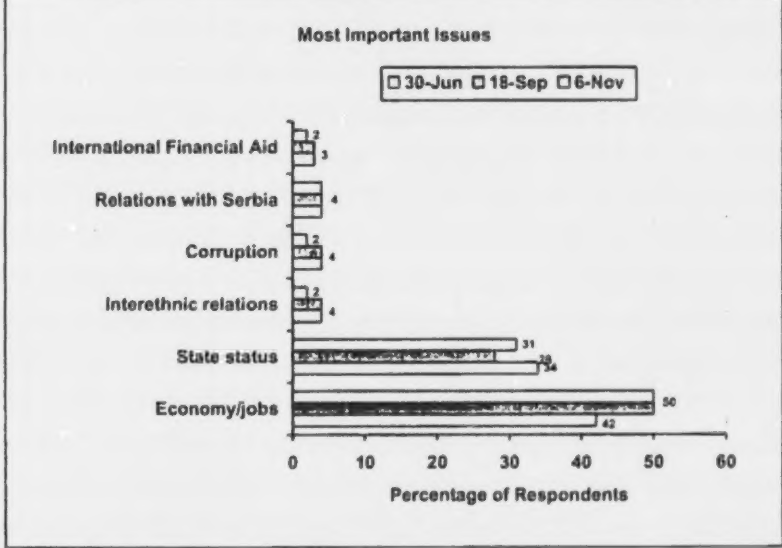
The design of both seminars was similar and included the topics below:

- **Plenary sessions:** The Role of Women in Political Parties/The Role of Women in NGOs; Designing a Strategy; and Women's Political Leadership
- **Joint political and civic plenary:** Finding a Common Agenda
- **Small group sessions:** Defining an Agenda; Finding Partners for Success; Developing a Message and Communicating it Effectively; and Strategic Planning

Political Party Polling

NDI fielded the fourth tracking survey in each of Montenegro's 21 municipalities in early November to determine voters' attitudes toward independence, party-based messaging, and Montenegrin affairs, including quality of life issues. In mid-November, NDI delivered party specific reports to representatives of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LSCG), the Socialist People's Party (SNP), the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the People's Party (NS). NDI delivered a report on key findings to USAID and other interested international organizations, and a press release to the media in Montenegro. Additionally, the key findings were sent to the three other parliamentary parties: Serb People's Party (SNS); Democratic Union of Albanians (DUA), and Democratic Alliance in Montenegro (DSCG) whose support is too small to enable a party-specific analysis of their voting body.

The key findings reveal that the economy continues to be the most important issue to voters when deciding for whom to vote. In this poll, the importance of economic issues, which include the economic situation, unemployment and start up of industry, remained steady at 50 percent. After the economy, the next most important issue to the respondents is Montenegro's state status at 31 percent. On the issue of state status, more than two-thirds (67 percent) continue to support the conduct of a referendum, and 79 percent of all respondents, including those who oppose a referendum, expressed their intention to vote. The poll also revealed that 92 percent of the respondents believe that party interests should be put aside in favor of solving the state status crisis.



Opinions regarding the issues surrounding state status remained largely unchanged between the September and November polls. More than two-thirds (67 percent) support the holding of a referendum, and 79 percent express their intention to vote. When asked the question, "Are you for Montenegro as an independent country/state?" 51 percent say they would vote "yes;" 31 percent would vote "no;" and 8 percent would not vote.

Parliamentary Caucus Consultations

As part of its follow-up to the initial multiparty caucus seminar held in July 2001, NDI organized two workshops on party caucus communication in early December. Political Advisor to the Party of European Socialists Nicholas Crook led the consultations with assistance from NDI/Montenegro Director Lisa McLean. The purpose of the workshops was to provide examples of how to organize the caucus to best communicate with its members, the party headquarters and voters.

Two five-hour, single-party workshops were held for Members of Parliament (MPs) of the two largest parties in Montenegro: the DPS, the largest party in government with 30 MPs and the SNP, the largest party in opposition with 19 MPs. Nine MPs from the DPS participated, including Dragan Kujovic, vice-chair of the parliament; Miodrag Vukovic, chief of the party caucus; and Igor Luksic, party spokesperson. Ten MPs from the SNP participated including Vuksan Simonovic, chief of the party caucus; Dragan Koprivica, party spokesperson; and Miodrag Vucetic, chair of the committee monitoring the transparency of the privatization process. Each workshop concentrated on all elements of caucus communication, with a special emphasis placed on internal party communication, caucus communication to party organs and communication with voters.

On a scale from 1 to 5 (5 being extremely useful), the DPS and SNP rated the workshop a 4 (very useful). The most relevant issues noted by DPS participants included voter contact; understanding that "the campaign starts the day after the last elections," the need to create news to try to help constituents and to show that you care, and the idea of "casework." Several MPs said they would create a voter communication program in cooperation with their local branch and that they would do door-to-door campaigning.

The most relevant lessons learned identified by SNP participants included the organization of the parliamentary caucus and the role of the "whip," the suggestion that press conferences should be held outside the "party press room" in order to create an interesting visual, and the importance of regular voter contact. Like the DPS, several of the MPs promised to increase their contact with the voters in the future using the techniques learned at the workshop.

NGO Development

Center for Democratic Transition

NDI advised CDT in its planning and implementation of a parliamentary education program for citizens, which is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and USAID/OTI and seeks to promote the transparency of the National Assembly. During this period, NDI assisted CDT on a weekly basis in the following program components:

- **Observation trip to Croatia**: At the beginning of October, CDT staff traveled to Croatia to participate in a training and exchange program organized by Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG), an NDI-trained domestic monitoring and parliamentary watchdog organization. CDT observed GONG's parliamentary program, interacted with MPs and

GONG volunteers, and gathered information about what is needed to implement a successful program to encourage citizen interest in the parliament and parliamentary engagement with the citizens.

Upon returning from Croatia, CDT incorporated lessons learned from GONG in seeking support from the parliamentary leadership for its program. Based on GONG's advice, CDT distributed an information package to each MP, which included the CDT "calling card" listing its contact information, an outline of the parliamentary program, a questionnaire for MPs about their receptiveness to the CDT program and interest in a future internship program, and the final report on the April 22 parliamentary elections. NDI also advised CDT on its political advocacy efforts with the parliamentary leadership, including who to talk to and how to approach them.

- **Public Awareness:** With USAID/OTI funding, CDT developed a 15-second TV and a 30-second radio advertisement and produced sugar packets (advertising the "ask your MP" program component) that will be distributed to café bars throughout the republic. The advertisements were released in early December and raise awareness about the parliament and CDT's website.

- **Polling:** With NDI assistance on question development and polling methodology, CDT fielded its 10-question "man-on-the-street" poll in mid/late October to find out how much citizens know about the functioning of parliament. One thousand and thirty-eight Montenegrin citizens participated in the poll and the findings were released at a press conference in mid-December revealing the following:

  ➢ Approximately 43 percent of citizens do not know what the governing system is in Montenegro, and 27.2 percent think it is a presidential system;
  ➢ 18.2 percent think that the parliament of Montenegro elects the president of the republic;
  ➢ 68.3 percent follow the work of parliament; and
  ➢ 35.9 percent of respondents think that the president of the republic proposes laws, while 65.2 percent believe that the Montenegrin Parliament is inefficient.

- **Program Activities:** CDT formally launched its parliamentary program for citizens in late November (In order to solidify its nonpartisan credentials, CDT postponed its program launch because of the boycott by the parliamentary opposition. This decision was based on extensive contact and discussion with leaders of the "Together for Yugoslavia" coalition). Activities included the following:

  ➢ Release of its citizens' guide to parliament, including an insert on how a bill becomes law that can be hung up on the wall, which will be distributed to NGOs, parties and participants in the parliamentary tours (see attached). NDI contributed significantly to the parliamentary guide by providing examples of guides from other countries in Africa, Asia, the U.S. and Southeastern Europe, critiquing the initial outline for the guide and follow-on drafts, designing an initial draft of the "how a bill becomes law" diagram and advising on important pre-publication activities, including seeking parliamentary staff and MP comments.

➢ Organization of two tours of parliament – one for the CDT regional coordinators and one for students from a high school in Niksic.

➢ Organization of two public discussions – one in Podgorica and one in Niksic – with prominent MPs from the People's Party, Liberal Alliance, DPS and Serb People's Party on the issues of the legal framework for referendum and the general reform program in Montenegro.

Association of Young Journalists (AYJ)

During this quarter, NDI continued to hold informal consultations with AYJ on its advocacy efforts to reform media laws (but not on the substance of the reform itself). With NDI guidance, AYJ revised its original idea of organizing a public campaign on reform of the media laws, which could have been perceived as confrontational to the government. Instead AYJ offered its expertise to the Secretariat of Information who subsequently invited the organization to join its reform efforts. By using its knowledge gained from the last two years of media monitoring and its extensive international contacts, specifically ProMedia/IREX and the European Media Institute, AYJ greatly enhanced its credibility to contribute to the reform efforts. The current version of the media laws, supported by the Secretariat of Information, envisions no role for political parties in the broadcasting councils that will govern public media. AYJ advocated for this position based on its research of other European countries. Equally significant, the Association has turned the Secretariat into an ally rather than a potential opponent.

With passage expected in early 2002, NDI is now consulting with AYJ on a public media campaign to raise awareness of the new law and encourage the public to demand compliance. NDI is also providing advice on developing a fundraising strategy and assisting AYJ in conducting a similar public campaign on a journalist code of ethics.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective: Parties become more open to the political participation of women and youth.

- Nada Drobnjak, DPS MP chair of the parliamentary committee on gender equality and women's coordinator for the party, said that the NDI's women's conference held in early November "was a major step forward in agreeing on issues of common concern," especially among herself, the other two MPs in attendance (one DPS and one NS) and Ana Perovic, women's coordinator for the SNP. She also said that the "atmosphere [at the conference] fostered a much better possibility for a women's political network," which has long been a goal of some women leaders. NDI will monitor concrete progress that women politicians make in efforts to cooperate and will document results in future quarterly reports.

- Of the seven parties attending the women in politics seminar, SNP, DPS, NS, DUA and SNS left with concrete action plans to either create a women's branch in order to increase and more effectively organize the participation of women within the party or increase women's membership and activity within the party. NDI will monitor concrete activities that women politicians make in implementing action plans and will document results in future quarterly reports.

Objective: Political parties identify and respond to citizen priorities in their platforms and in their policies put forward either as parliamentary members of the government or opposition[1]

- During its October party congress, the DPS recognized the Youth Council as a formal part of its party structure. In working with the Youth Council in 1999, the DPS youth had identified this as an important strategic goal. NDI expert trainer in 1999 discussed with the youth the role of youth branches in other parties in Canada and Europe.

- In reviewing news reports, NDI identified evidence that some parties are beginning to factor issues of importance to voters, noted in the Institute's polling information, into their policy statements. While other external influences could also contribute, NDI has repeatedly emphasized the need for parties to frame positions in terms of the interests of its voters (i.e. the economy). Examples of evidence that NDI poll results noting voter concerns are used include the following:

    ➢ In his opening speech to the party congress, President Djukanovic strongly emphasized the role and importance of youth within the party. Indeed, the September tracking poll demonstrated that the DPS had a definite advantage among 18 to 30 year olds.

    ➢ In two cases in the fall and increasingly in the last months of the quarter, SNP public statements referred to economic arguments for why Montenegro should remain in a federation with Serbia instead of relying on the usual party rhetoric.

    ➢ In early December, People's Party President Dragan Soc made a fervent argument for remaining in a federation based on economic considerations (specifically, start-up of industry) rather than emotional or historical reasons.

    ➢ In mid-December, DPS party spokesperson Igor Luksic made an equally fervent argument for independence based on "pocketbook" issues. Similarly, since the restart of negotiations, there is additional evidence that other DPS leaders are beginning to use such arguments, including Veselin Vukotic and Miroslav Ivanisevic.

    ➢ The LSCG reported to NDI that they definitely use the poll results to refine its message. Nevertheless, during the reporting period, the Liberals issued few "party announcements" that could be analyzed.

Objective: Existing nonpartisan advocacy organizations become effective watchdog institutions and advocates for an accountable and transparent parliament and government.

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[1] It is important to note that platforms are only changed in conjunction with specific elections and with party congresses.

- As a direct result of regular consultations and advice from NDI and an observation mission to Croatia, the following occurred:

  ➢ CDT published a citizen's guide to parliament based on comparative examples provided by NDI; and
  ➢ In organizing the public meetings, CDT incorporated GONG's recommendation to ask each coordinator to bring five people to the event.

- The media attention that CDT has been able to organize around citizens' tours of parliament demonstrates lessons learned over the last year from NDI advisors on how to attract "earned media," including organization of an "announcement event," followed by an open invitation to the journalists to follow the process, and preparation of the "tourists" to ask interesting and relevant questions that would garner media attention.

- Based on informal consultations with NDI, AYJ effectively involved itself in the efforts to reform the media laws and adopt a journalist code of ethics. AYJ's credibility among media experts has increased as the organization employs NDI-suggested advocacy tactics (i.e. non-confrontational with emphasis on providing knowledge and expertise).

- Through the NDI seminar for women NGO leaders, women gained a much better understanding of the strategic planning process, using the media effectively and effective networking. In the sphere of domestic violence and trafficking, a step-by-step plan for confronting the problem by educating the relevant authorities was designed (and will hopefully be implemented).

- Based on an NDI advocacy training conducted for UNDP in August 2001 for nine NGOs in the northern municipalities, seven of the NGOs received project funding from UNDP. An excerpt from an e-mail from the UNDP program associate notes the direct impact of NDI's training on the participants:

  > *"...I think you will find them [the project proposals] very interesting and see in them VERY CLEARLY the impact of the advocacy training. Anyway, I do hope that very soon, at least by January, stories of their work will appear in the papers. CRNVO will keep a copy of the press clippings."*

  Specifically, the NGOs whose projects were funded exhibited a demonstrated understanding of fundamental advocacy techniques, including strategic planning, choice of tactics, and project planning/proposal writing.

V. EVALUATION

Women's Seminars

The two seminars for women political party and NGO activists marked the first time NDI/Montenegro formally worked with women only as a group. The women party activists seminar launched NDI's womens program with political parties and laid a solid foundation for follow-up work planned with each party over the course of 2002 and beyond. The multiparty nature fostered a constructive and cooperative atmosphere among the parties, and its success makes an argument for NDI to consider doing future multiparty training events. It is apparent from verbal and written comments that the party women gained useful knowledge and skills that they plan to apply to their own work and to the development of their party.

The international trainers, participants and NDI organizers noted the extremely useful role that the local language trainers played in both seminars. Not only were they excellent trainers demonstrating full knowledge of how to engage the groups effectively, the fact that they could communicate in the local language and use real examples from their own countries contributed significantly to the overall relevance of the seminar.

Based on the evaluation forms received, the overall impression of the women in politics seminar was overwhelmingly positive. They stated that it was useful and interesting; workshops were creative and well-designed; and, the topics were relevant to the participants. The opportunity to socialize and network was also highlighted, allowing participants an opportunity to network across parties and NGOs and to think about a wider women's agenda. In contrast to usual comments in Balkan seminars, there were few complaints about lack of free time; so, although the agenda was indeed full, the participants demonstrated that the dynamism and participatory nature of the seminar was more than worth the effort.

The women NGO activists – particularly those engaged in domestic violence issues – came away from the seminar with an increased understanding of the importance of achievable objectives and detailed plans to achieve them. In the women in politics workshop, it was hard to focus the NGO leaders on one single short- to medium-term objective and, as a result, concrete results were more limited. The most concrete identifiable results that perhaps will be evident in the future are a better ability to identify the problem and its source more effectively and, less likely, the ability to work together more effectively.

"Personally, I have learned a lot and am pleased because I will be able to pass on the information to colleagues in my NGO."
-NGO Seminar Participant

Workshops With the Parliamentary Caucuses

The December workshops for the DPS and SNP parliamentary caucuses set the stage for future results in improving their internal operation. All 19 participants were introduced to models of caucus work in other European parliaments, methods of more effectively integrating the caucus into the activities of the party, and contact with voters. For almost all participating MPs, it was their first introduction to the concept that the best voter contact is the contact done by the elected MP (and not just a regular party branch member).

NDI trainer Nick Crook's knowledge of several European systems, including the British Dutch, German, Swedish, Finnish and Spanish parliaments, was effective in demonstrating to both parties that a variety of different methods can be used for intra-party communication and voter contact. SNP, in particular, was eager to learn the voter contact methods (using questionnaires, newsletters and door-to-door contact) recommended during the session.

CDT

CDT continues to demonstrate its ability to work more independently, with less assistance from NDI staff. The October trip to Croatia allowed CDT to gain the confidence and the skills to organize its "Open Parliament" project – and consultations from NDI staff in both the third and fourth quarter enhanced and honed these skills. Organizationally, CDT is working to establish an advisory board, as recommended by NDI and GONG, and has begun to hold regular staff meetings with pre-set agendas, also observed during the GONG visit.

CDT successfully negotiated a politically divisive period during the initially planned release of its TV commercial. When the opposition decided to boycott parliament in November, CDT postponed the release of the spot and the launch of its tours to avoid promoting a legislature with only pro-independence parties. During the delay, CDT's meetings with all opposition party leaders firmly established its credentials as nonpartisan, objective observers.

Administrative/Staff Issues

A search for the second resident representative is underway and several highly qualified candidates have been identified. NDI anticipates that the second resident representative will be deployed by early March. This representative will work primarily with party caucuses in parliament and with party headquarters staff on issues such as internal communications, party structure, and handling the media.

In the absence of second resident representative, NDI deployed a short-term advisor to assist the NDI/Montenegro Director Lisa McLean with program implementation. The short-term advisor is expected to stay until early March.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In order to demonstrate progress in all 2001 program components, several of which were delayed due to unforeseen political events, NDI requested and received a no-cost extension for its political party and nonpartisan political activism development program from January 1 through April 30, 2002.[2] During this time period, NDI envisions fielding three tracking polls, holding small leadership consultations with party caucuses in parliament on strengthening their outreach and communication skills, and working with parties on increasing political participation of women.

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[2] NDI received a no-cost extension through July 31, 2002, on its regional cooperative agreement (USAID No. EE-A-00-98-00028-00), which includes programs in Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. However, NDI envisions completing program activities in Montenegro by April 30, 2002.

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PARLIAMENTARY GUIDE

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LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

1. OUR ID CARD

Center for democratic tranzition is a nongovermental organization established in august 2000, with a goal to positevly influence and further improve the beginning of democratic processes in Montenegro. This organization gathers mainly young people who try to promote norms and standards accepted in the developed democracies. Of course, we support not only the application of the legal and democratic infrastructure in orther to have fair and honest elections; but we also support further improvement of Human Rights, rights of the national minorities, transparency of the processes of the privatization and involvement with the vast number of citizens in establishing their full political and civic rights.

Center for Democratic Tranzition recently realized a project of "Monitoring of the Parliamentary elections", in order to make a democratic atmosphere of elections, where the citizen's will would be completely respected. The project contained monitoring of election activities at the election day, cooperation to political parties, which competed in election competition, and also to Republic election Commission. In this project, we also realized medium campaign and the parallel vote counting (PVT method) too, which made it passible for us to have the projection of the preliminary results only three hours after the ending of election process.

In our work so for we monitored the process of the Local elections of 2000 in Podgorica and Herceg Novi, the Federal Elections, which the State body in Montenegro considered illegitimate, held in September last year, as well as the last Parliamentary elections in Serbia. All of our observations and analyses were publicly announced and their results were introduced to the relevant domestic and foreign institutions and representatives.

CDT is also a membeb if International uniformal net of NGO's called ENEMO.

2. *ABOUT THE PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAM*

CDT plans to realize a project that is related to transparency of the work of state institutions (national and municipal) and to increase citizen's participation within the Parliament.

There is a lot of oriticism of the Parliament. Many of the members of Parliament have little or no connection with citizens, who selected them. The public hasn't quality information about the proposal of act or Parliamentary activities. Some of these activities are put into effect with a lock of transparency.

CDT's hope is that trought this program that Members of Parliament will start to respond to citizen's requests and communicate to them. We belive that citizen's requests will make the work of the Parliament more effective and opened. It is CDT's hope that it's activists, with the other NGO make the public more influent to this processes and in that way improve and advance the Parliamentary activities.

To this end, CDT proposes to open the Parliament to NGO and citizen input by:

1) Increasing the transparency of the Parliament
2) Increasing citizen involvement
3) Getting expert and NGO's inut in proposed laws
4) Monitoring Municipal Parliaments

These ere the goals of this project, too.

1) Increasing Transparency in the Legislative Process

This part of the program is perhops the most important for creating transparencu in the legislative process in Montenegro. It is necessary for draft laws to be made public in advance of their passage, for the Parliamentary agenda to be made public before plenary sessions, for parliamentary committee sessions to be opened to all interested groups and for experts to be involved advocasy in three directions:

1. Publication and public availability of draft laws before their introduction to Parliament,
2. The law proposer and the committees of the Parliament would convene public discussion on draft laws with interested groups of citizens before final passage in plenary session,
3. Publication and public availability of Parliament's committee and plenary agenda before parliamentary sessions.

CDT will advocate for realization of these goals, and we will put on the website relevant information regarding upcoming proposals, laws and debates. Assitionally, NGO's and interested individuals will also be made aware of what is taking place in Parliament by getting a weekly email/fax update.

2) Increasing Citizen Involvement

On the goals of this program is to inform the citizens about the work of Parliament. The program will be organized to demystify the work of Parliament and have people become familiar with it's process.

To this end CDT plans to:

1. Designing Parliament tours for students, organizations, and other interested people, and specially emphasizing the committee's activities and contacts to members of the Parliaments.
2. Traning of our activists to conduct the tours
3. Prepering material which would be distributed to visitors, explaining the parliamentary operating.

3) Experts and NGO Input into Proposed Laws

In addition citizen involvement, CDT will also encourage the work of the different area experts to take part in Parliament and the committees. The idea was to include interested groups and individuals in the creation of legislation on through making them aware of the committees proposals and current legislation.

4) Monitoring of the Municipal Parliaments

This program also includes monitoring the Municipal Parliaments. Temporary staff will be hired to do this for the short period that these Parliaments are in session. The staff for this will be recruited from the pool of students and young people who were active in monitoring activities of our organization. Each of the Municipal Monitors will be trained and asked to report on a weekly basis the workings of the Municipality to be included in the weekly email.

HISTORY OF MONTENEGRIN PARLAMENTARISM

1. MONTENEGRIN PARLIAMENTS AND THEIR PRESIDENTS TILL 1918

In Montenegro, during the history, till the Constitution in 1905, were periodicaly convoked of national Parliaments, as a national Montenegrin meeting or a chief's meeting, where the most important national and state questions were solved. National Parliaments or meetings took part in 1796., 1798., 1803., 1830., 1831., 1852., 1855., 1868., 1876. and 1879.

Metropolitan Petar Petrovic the 1st, after passing a Legal Code in 1798, formed administrative organs, and also Administrative courts of Montenegro and the hills.

Petar Petrovic the 2nd, Njegosh, begoning his rule, reorganized this organ, calling it Administrative senate of Montenegro and the hills. Besides the rulers, Senate was the highest administrative organ in Montenegro, and it had administration, courts and particulary legislative control. Number the senators, voted among the most respectable Montenegrins, wasn't permanent. At the beginning of the rule of Njegosh, there were sixteen senators.

The first president of the Senate was IVAN VUKOTIC, from Podgorica by origin, who came from Russia.

The Senate was suspended in 1879, when the State Council was established, as a law advisory organ of the Duke, ministries as Administrative organs and a Supreme court. A president of the State Council was commander BOZO PETROVIC.

After the war 1876 – 1878, Montenegrin territory was more then doubled. Towns of Niksic, Kolasin, Spuz, and Podgorica were liberated, Bar and Ulcinj too, so that Montenegro got the part of the Adriatic coast.

Late XIX early XX century was the time when important legislative activity was developed. The common law was replaced by the written laws. Among the created laws, specially emphasized was the General property legal code of Principality of Montenegro, written by dr Valtazar Bogisic, translated into many languages and can serve as an extraordinary example of the harmony established between the tradition and contemporary times.

At the time legations of Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, England, Italy, Serbia, Turkay, Bulgaria, Greece and Germany were opened at Cetinje.

Many of interior and exterior factors made the duke Nikola to create the Constitution of Principality of Montenegro. In St Luka's Day Proclamation directed to the people he says: "When a man is a member of a enlightened humanity, he has to be a free citizen, too. For that we will use the examples of peoples more enlightend and more progresive than we are, and whatever that experience prove to be better in their political life than in our patriarchal regime, we will slowly apply in our practicec.

The elections for the National Parliament happened in November 14.(27.), 1905. The number of 62 representatives were selected directly, and 14 representatives came to the Parliament after their position (viril representatives). As well, as there was no political party, the winner of the elections were those who had personal and family's merits, but also those who's brotherhood and tribe were more numerous. A conciderable number of young and educated people was selected.

The National Parliament was unicameral. As a national representative was allowed to be selected, only a Montenegrin citizen, permanently living in Montenegro and who turn 30. The mandate of the national representatives was for four years, and the National Parliament were completely resumed, after the mandate expiration or after the suspending, before the expiration.

For every session, National Parliament selected the president by secret vote.

The Duke could convoked the National Parliament.

The Duke could suspend the National Parliament, but the State could not function without the Parliament more then six months.

According to the Constitution and the Law of election of national representatives, next elections happened in Septembar 27, 1906. The elections were democratic. As a president of the National Parliament, was elected SAKO PETROVIC. The first session of the Parliament was in October 31, 1906.

There in the Parliament was established a National representative's club, which was a base for creating of the People's party, which was the first political party in Montenegro.

The President of the Parliament, voivode Sako Petrovic, was chosen as a president of the club.

The Parliament's mandate was 1906 – 1909, but it was suspended in July 9, 1907.

The next elections were in October 31, 1907. The People's party didn't compete.

The National Parliament was convoked in November 21, 1907. At next session, that happened in November 27, the Parliament verificated the mandate. Eminent lawyer LABUD GOJNIC was chosen as the President of the Parliament.

An engineer, MARKO DJUKANOVIC was chosen as a president at the session that took place in December 14, 1908, and his reappointment was in December 1, 1909.

A lawyer MILO DOZIC was chosen for the President of the National Parliament in December 1, 1910.

The parliamentary work for 1907 – 1911 period, was adjourned in February 12, 1911.

The new convocation elections took place in September 27, 1911. the first previous meeting of newly appointed Montenegrin National Parliament took place in December 1, 1911. At the second previous meeting for a president of the Parliament was chosen JOVAN PLAMENAC, who had already been minister of education and internal affairs, and after that the president of the government in exile, regent and leader of the Christmas rebellion.

Even though the National Parliament was established for the period from 1911 to 1914, because of the Balkans wars the 1912 was the last year it convoked.

The Parliament was suspended by the king Nikola's ukase in October 25, 1913., and Parliamentary elections for period 1914 – 1917 were scheduled in 11.01.1914.

The first previous meeting of the Montenegrin National Parliament, established in January 11, 1914, took place in January 28. At the second meeting the Credentials committee report was adapted and the President of the Parliament was chosen that was Milo Dozic.

On the accasion of the Austria – Hungary's declaration of war against Serbia, Montenegrin National Parliament met, having an extraordinary session 1.08.1914. In August the 6th, 1914 Montenegro declarated war against Austria – Hungary.

During the war, Montenegrin National Parliament didn't meet, till December 25, 1915, whwn in already critical situation for Montenegro, the Parliament convoked an extraordinary session. At the secret meeting, in December 26, the Government asked for a freedom of action. Hower, there was voted nonconfidence in government was convoked in January the 2nd, 1916.

At the session of January the 4th, 1916, the Parliament adapted the resolution where was emplasized ready to persevere in "fighting to final victory we're never had doubts about". The same day, the Montenegrin National Parliament was suspended, without repeated meeting because of the occupation of Montenegro.

At November 1918, took place well-known Parliamentary of Podgorica, where were some decisions made about the detronization of montenegrin dynasty of Petrovic and also decisions about the annex of Montenegro to Serbia, into one state – Yugoslav kingdom, under the Serbia dynasty of Karadjordjevic.

2. MONTENEGRIN PARLIAMENTS AND THEIR PRESIDENTS AFTER 1918

The first elections in Montenegro after the WW2 took place in November the 3rd 1946, when the constituent assembly was selected, which in December 31, 1946. brought the Constitution of the Ntional Republic of Montenegro, and after that continned the mandate as a National Parliament till the next elections in 1950.

Till the Constituent assembly elections, the function of people's representative organ (Parliament), was performed by National Parliament NRM contained by the councillors of ZAVNO of Montenegro and Boka, organized in Kolasin in November 1943. During the July 1944, ZAVNO reorganized to Montenegrin Antifascist Parliament of National Liberation (CASNO).

In April 1945 CASNO was reorganized to Montenegrin National Parliament, and in February 1946 this passed to National Parliament of NRM.

After the WW2 till the prliamentary elections in April 2001, Montenegro had 18 Parliamentary elections, and from 1963 to 1967, a halt of the number of representatives was selected every second year (1965 and 1967).

1) Mandates (sessions) of Montenegrin Parliaments after the World War 2

1. till November 1946

Montenegrin National Parliament – National Parliament NRM

2. November 1946 – October 1950

A Constitnet Assembly of People (unicameral)

3. November 1950 – November 1953

The National Parliament (unicameral)

4. December 1953 – March 1958

The National Parliament (bicameral)

5. April 1958 – June 1963

The National Parliament (bicameral)

6. June 1963 – April 1969

Parliament of Social Republic of Montenegro; every second year (1965. and 1967.) was the election of a half of the number of representatives.

7. May 1969 – April 1974

The Parliament of SRM

8. May 1974 – April 1978

The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)

9. May 1978 – April 1982

The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)

10. May 1982 – April 1986

The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)

11. May 1986 – June 1989

The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)

12. June 1989 – December 1990

The Parliament of SRM (tricameral)

13. December 1990 – December 1992

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

14.January 1993 – November 1996

The Parliament of MR (unicameral - multiparty)

15.November 1996 – May 1998

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

16.June 1998 – April 2001

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

17.May 2001

The Parliament of Montenegro Republic (unicameral - multiparty)

2) The Presidents of Montenegrin Parliaments after the World War 2

MILOS RASOVIC

April the 15st, 1945 – November the 20st 1946

(Montenegrin National Parliament – People's Parliament)

Since November 21, 1946 till December 31, 1946

(president of the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly)

Since January the 1st – president of the Presidium of the National Parliament of NRM

PETAR KOMNENIC

Since November the 20th, 1946 till December 31, 1946

(president of the Constituent Assembly)

Since January 1947 till January 1949

(president of the National Parliament of NRM)

DJURO CAGOROVIC

January 21st, 1949 – November 6st, 1950

(National Parliament of NRM)

Reappointed in November the 6th, 1950 – February the 4th, 1953

(National Parliament of NRM)

NIKOLA KOVACEVIC

November 1950 – February the 4st, 1953

(president of the Presidium of the National Parliament of NRM)

February the 4th, 1953 – December the 15th, 1953

(president of the National Parliament of NRM)

BLAZO JOVANOVIC

December the 15, 1953 – April the 11, 1958

(National Parliament of NRM)

Reappointed in April 1958 – July 12th, 1962

(National Parliament of NRM)

FILIP BAJKOVIC

July 12, 1962 – June 25, 1963

(Parliament of NRM)

ANDRO MUGOSA

June 25, 1963 – May 5, 1967

(Parliament of SRM)

VELJKO MILATOVIC

May the 5th, 1967 – May the 7th, 1969

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in May the 7th, 1969 – October the 6th, 1969

(Parliament of SRM)

VIDOJE ZARKOVIC

October the 6th, 1969 – May the 6th, 1974

(Parliament of SRM)

BUDISLAV SOSKIC

May the 6th, 1974 – April 28th, 1978

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in April 28, 1978 – August the 13th, 1979 (died)

RADIVOJE BRAJOVIC

October the 31, 1979 – May the 7, 1982

(Parliament of SRM)

MILUTIN TANJEVIC

May the 7, 1982 – May the 6, 1983

(Parliament of SRM)

OMER KURPEJOVIC

May the 6, 1983 – May the 7, 1984

(Parliament of SRM)

CEDOMIR DJURANOVIC

May the 7, 1984 – May the 7, 1985

(Parliament of SRM)

MARKO MATKOVIC

May the 7, 1985 – May the 6,1986

VELISAV VUKSANOVIC

May the 6, 1986 – January the 13, 1989 (resigned)

(Parliament of SRM)

DRAGAN RADONJIC

Uly the 12, 1989 – December 27, 1990

RISTO VUKCEVIC

December the 27, 1990 – January the 15, 1993

(Parliament of SRM)

Reappointed in January the 15, 1993 – October 1994 (died)

(Parliament of SRM)

SVETOZAR MAROVIC

December the 12, 1994 – November the 18, 1996

(Parliament of Montenegro)

Reappointed in November the 18, 1996 – June the 15, 1998

(Parliament of Montenegro)

Reappointed in June the 15, 1998 – May the 24, 2001

(Parliament of Montenegro)

VESNA PEROVIC

Since June the 7, 2001

(Parliament of Montenegro)

COMPETENCE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PARLIAMENT

I COMPETENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT

Competence of the Parliament as a legislative body is determined by the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro.

In accordance with article 81. of the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro, the Parliament:

1) Adopts the Constitution,
2) Enacts laws, other regulations and general acts,
3) Enacts the development plan of Montenegro, budget and annual balance sheet,
4) Determines principles for the organization of public administration;
5) Ratifies international treaties within jurisdiction of the Republic;
6) Announces a Republic referendum;
7) Floats public loans and decides on entering into indebtedness of Montenegro;
8) Elects and dismisses the Prime Minister and members of the Government, President and judges of the Constitutional Court, president and judges of all the courts of law;
9) Appoints and dismisses the Public Prosecutor and other officials;
10) Grants amnesty for criminal offences prescribed by the Republic law;
11) Performs other duties as prescribed by the Constitution.

II INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The Parliament has a president, one or more vice-presidents, working bodies, commissions and boards and representative clubs.

1. President and Vice- president of the Parliament

1) President of the Parliament

- Convenes the Parliament in sessions and presides over the sessions
- Ensures observance of Rules of Procedure of the Parliament
- Takes care of organization of work of the Parliament and initiates improvement of that work,
- Ensures the prompt and coordinated work of all working bodies of the Parliament,
- Signs the acts of Parliament, with the exception of laws,
- Performs other tasks laid down in the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro.

The number of the Vice-Presidents is determined by the Parliament at the time of their election. They assist the President of the Parliament in carrying out the tasks within his competence. If the President of the Parliament is temporarily prevented from attending to his duties, he is replaced by the Vice-President of his own choice.

2) Election and dismissal of the President and the Vice-Presidents of the Parliament

A candidate for the President of the Parliament may be nominated by at least 10 representatives. A representative can be engaged in nomination of only one candidate. The proposal contains the first and the last name of the candidate, short biography, party membership and justification. The President is, as a rule, elected by public vote. If there is more than one candidate, election is carried out by secret ballot.

Nomination and election of the Vice-Presidents of the Parliament is carried out in the same way as the election of the President of the Parliament.

When entering the duty the President and the Vice-President of the Parliament make the following solemn affirmation before the Parliament:

»I affirm that I shall perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously, in accordance with the Constitution and the law"

The function of the President, respectively Vice-President is terminated before expiry of the period for which he or she has been elected by a resignation or dismissal.

2. Working bodies of the Parliament

1) Establishment and composition

For the purposes of examining and debating on the matters within the competence of the Parliament, making proposals of acts and carrying out other tasks within the competence of the Parliament, commissions and boards are set up as standing working bodies of the Parliament. The Parliament may, by a special decision, establish other standing and temporary working bodies.

A working body has a chairman and a certain number of members, which are selected from amongst the representatives. The composition of the working body corresponds to allocation of seats between parties in the Parliament. The Parliament may elect in some working bodies scientists and experts as consultants that do not have the right to decision-making.

The chairman and members of a working body are elected for the period of four years.

The working body works in sittings. The Chairman of the working body convenes the working body in sitting, proposes the agenda, and presides over the sitting. He is obliged to convene the sitting of the working body if the President of the Parliament asks him to do so, or if one third of the members of the working body propose so, stating the issues that are to be included in the agenda. The Chairman of a working body organizes the work of the working body.

The working body works in sitting which is attended by the majority of the members of the working body, and decides by the majority of the present members. The representatives of the proposer of an act that is being examined in the sitting are also present in the sitting. Representatives of the Government, if invited, may participate in the work of the working body, without right to decision – making.

In carrying out the tasks within its competence the working body may, through its chairman, ask a governmental body to provide data and information important for its work.

2) Commissions and boards of the Parliament

Working bodies of the Parliament can be organized as commissions and boards, as follows:

a) Commission for Election and Appointment
b) Commission for Term of Office and Immunity,
c) Commission for Monitoring of Openness and Transparency of the Privatization Process
d) Board for Constitutional Matters,
e) Legislative Board,
f) Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration
g) Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment
h) Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare,
i) Board for International Relations,
j) Board for Human Rights and Freedoms
k) Board for Control of work of the National Security Service

In addition to the above-mentioned, the Commission for Investigation of the Assertions Made in the Zagreb Newspaper «Nacional» (National) on the tobacco affair has been set up as a temporary working body **(I)**

3) Competence of commissions and boards

Commission for Election and Appointment:

- Submits to the Parliament a proposal for election, appointments and dismissals, except proposals which, in accordance with the Constitution and the law, are submitted by other proposers
- Proposes regulations which regulate matters regarding exercise of rights and duties of the representatives and officials who are elected or appointed by the Parliament and passes closer regulations for their execution
- Determines the proposal for the providing of resources in the budget of the Republic for the work of the Parliament and its services and ensures the proper use of such resources
- Passes individual acts on matters regarding the status of representatives and officials who are elected or appointed by the Parliament
- Gives assent to the Act on Systematization of working posts to the Service Department of the Parliament,
- Upon proposition of the Secretary General of the Parliament, appoints persons to the Service Department of the Parliament on posts determined by the Act on Systematization and performs tasks in relation to the Service Department of the Parliament and to civil servants in the Service Department that, in relation to governmental bodies and civil servants in these bodies, are performed by the Government,
- Determines remunerations and awards to scientists and experts for engagement in working bodies of the Parliament
- Performs other tasks prescribed by the law and other regulations

The Commission for Election and Appointment has a chairman and eleven members.

Commission for Term of Office and Immunity examines:

-the reasons for termination of a representative's term of office and submits the report on that issue to the Parliament together with a proposal for filling of a vacant representative position; the report of the Republic Election Commission on filling of a vacant representative position; issues of application or deprivation of immunity of representatives and other issues concerning rights which are related to term of office and immunity of representatives.

The Commission for Term of Office and Immunity has a chairman and four members.

Commission for Monitoring Openness and Transparency of the Privatization Process

l) The Commission monitors the realization of openness and transparency of the privatization by:

- Informing the public on the privatization process and procedures,
- Examining complaints of the participants in the privatization process concerning breaches of the principles of openness and transparency
- Monitoring annual privatization plans brought by the Government
- Monitoring work of the Privatization Council
- Examining the information provided by the stakeholders of the privatization process
- Proposing regulations and alterations in regulations by which the principles of openness and transparency are realized and the procedure and process of privatization are improved
- Initiating a debate in the Parliament regarding issues of openness and transparency of the privatization
- Giving recommendations to governmental bodies - stakeholders of the privatization process regarding the provision of openness and transparency in the privatization process
- Pointing out the breaches of the principles of openness and transparency
- Initiating and proposing the instigation of proceedings of responsibility of institutions and individuals for the breaches of openness and transparency of the privatization

The Commission, at least once a year, submits a report on the openness and transparency of the privatization process to the Parliament.

The Commission has a chairman and nine members.

d) **Board for Constitutional Matters** examines a motion for alteration of the Constitution, determines the text of the draft and proposal of the amendment to the Constitution examines the modifications of the Constitution of FRY which are carried out by the consent of the member- republics and examines principal questions regarding the application of the Constitution.

The Board for Constitutional matters has a chairman and twelve members.

e) Legislative board examines:

- Proposals of laws and other acts being enacted by the Parliament from the aspect of their harmonization to the Constitution and legal system, as well as regarding their legal processing
- Proposals for rendering the authentic interpretation of laws
- Acts on the instigation of proceedings for the evaluation of constitutionality of laws or constitutionality and lawfulness of other regulations
- Takes care of uniform legislative methodology as well as uniform legal- technical processing of the acts enacted by the Parliament
- Determines proposals for the authentic interpretation of laws
- Determines the refined text of a law or other regulation, if it is authorized by the law, respectively other regulation, to do so.

The Legislative Board has a chairman and eight members.

f) Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Establishment, organization and competences of governmental bodies and proceedings before those bodies
- Defense and security,
- Local Self- government System
- National symbols, use of national symbols and national holidays
- Republic citizenship,
- Election system and referendum,
- Territorial organization of the Republic
- Organization and status of the Administrative Capital and Cultural Capital
- Exercising of the special rights of minorities and ethnical groups
- Press and other means of public information

- Criminal and other offences, liability and sanctions, amnesty, pardon and legal aid

The Board for Political System, Judiciary and Administration has a chairman and 8 members.

g) Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of the Environment examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Property and property relations
- Natural wealth,
- Economy and entrepreneurship
- Agriculture, forestry, waterpower engineering,
- Tourism, commerce
- Development plan of the Republic and environmental planning, residential area and building sites
- Stocks,
- Budget of the Republic and balance sheet
- Financing of state functions, taxes and other duties,
- Proprietary – legal and contractual relations
- Public loans, indebtedness of the Republic, banks, insurance of propriety and persons
- Games of chance
- Protection and development of the environment, nature and natural wealth, protection from dangerous and damaging substances, protection from other sources that endanger the environment

The Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment has a chairman and eighth members.

h) Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare examines proposals of laws and other acts and other matters regarding:

- Preschool, elementary and secondary education
- University education
- Science, culture, art, sport, physical and technical culture
- Protection of scientific, cultural, art and historical values
- Health protection, protection of invalids, mothers and children
- Marriage, family, employment, labor and rights of employees

The Board for Education, Science, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Welfare has a chairman and eight members.

i) Board for International Relations examines international treaties which are ratified by the Parliament and other acts and matters in this area that are within the competence of the Parliament.

The Board for International Relations has a chairman and six members.

j) Board for Human Rights and Freedoms examines proposals of laws and other regulations relative to the way of realization of human rights and freedoms and examines principal and individual issues in the field of realization, promotion and protection of human rights and freedoms.

The Board for human rights and freedoms has a chairman and six members.

k) Board for Control of Work of the National Security Service examines the realization of rights and freedoms of a man and citizen guaranteed by the Constitution in the work of the National Security Service, proposals of laws and other acts important for the realization of the Board's functions in regard to national security. This Board is among others entitled to request from competent governmental bodies, organs and services the imparting of information and submitting of reports on the application of methods and means of the National Security Service when it estimates that rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution are endangered by them, as well as global information on financial expenditures for the National Security Service, examines individual issuess regarding eventual violations of freedoms and rights in the work of the National Security Service and other matters within the competence of the Parliament.

The Board for Control of work of the National Security Service has a chairman and 10 members.

l) Commission for Investigation of the Assertions Made in the Zagreb Newspaper «Nacional» (National) on the Tobacco Affair (established on the 31st July 2001), temporary working body

-the Commission has the duty to determine the facts, circumstances and important elements of the assertions made in the text published in the

Zagreb newspaper “Nacional”, with the title “The main mafia boss of the Balkans” and other texts published in the same newspaper,

-in carrying out the entrusted task the Commission is obliged to:

-cooperate with competent governmental bodies and directors of Montenegrin enterprises which have been marked in the above-mentioned texts as participants in the activities of transit and smuggling of cigarettes,

-realize direct cooperation and communication with international organizations for combat against organized crime and

-submit a report to the Parliament within 90 days.

The Commission has a chairman and six members.

1. Clubs of representatives

Clubs of representatives are formed in the Parliament. A club of representatives consists of at least two representatives, and a representative can be member of only one club of representatives. The club is as a rule formed on the first session of the Parliament, by submitting a list of the club’s members signed by every member of the club to the President of the Parliament.

2. Decision making

The Parliament decides if the sitting is attended by more than half of the total number of representatives, and the decisions are made by a majority of votes of the representatives present, if not provided otherwise by the Constitution, and it is provided that the Parliament decides, by a majority of votes of the total number of representatives, on laws which regulate the manner in which the freedoms and rights are exercised, the electoral system, material obligations of the citizens and national symbols; on the dismissal of the President of the Republic; on the election of the Government and the vote of confidence to the Government; on the announcement of a referendum; on the shortening of the term of office and on its Rules of Procedure.

3. Acts of the Parliament

The Parliament enacts laws, gives authentic interpretation of laws, passes development plans of the Republic, the budget and balance sheet of the budget, declarations, resolutions, decisions, recommendations and conclusions on matters within its jurisdiction.

4. Dissolution of the Parliament

The Parliament is dissolved if it fails to elect the Government within 60 days from the day on which the President of the Republic proposes a candidate for the Prime Minister.

The Parliament may not be dissolved during the state of war, an imminent threat of war or a state of emergency.

If the Parliament ceases to perform its duties as prescribed by the Constitution for a considerable period of time, the Government may, after hearing the opinion of the President of the Parliament and of the presidents of clubs of representatives of the Parliament, dissolve the Parliament.

The Government is not entitled to dissolve the Parliament if a procedure for the vote of non-confidence to the Government has been instigated.

The President of the Republic prescribes by decree the dissolution of the Parliament and sets a date for the election of the new Parliament.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS

The Parliament sits in regular and extraordinary sessions, and while on session it works in sittings. Regular sessions are held two times a year, and extraordinary sessions are held only when the Parliament is not on a regular session.

1. Regular session

The first session of the Parliament commences on the first working day of March and lasts until the end of July.

The second session of the Parliament commences on the first working day of October and lasts until the end of December.

The Parliament is convened in a sitting of a regular session by the President of the Parliament. The Government and one third of representatives are entitled to submit a motion to convene the Parliament.

Convocation of the Parliament in a sitting contains the day on which the sitting is to be held, the time of the commencement of the work, and proposal of the agenda. The convocation is to be sent to the representatives at least 15 days prior to the date fixed for the sitting to be held on.

Material proposed for the agenda of the sitting, if not delivered earlier, is delivered together with the convocation.

The President of the Parliament may in extremely urgent cases convene the Parliament in a sitting within a period shorter than 15 days, and propose the agenda on the very sitting.

2. Extraordinary session

The Parliament is convened in extraordinary sessions upon request of at least one third of the total number of representatives, the President of the Republic, and the Prime Minister.

Extraordinary sessions may be held only in the interval between the first working day of January and the last working day of February and between the first working day of August and the last working day of September.

A submitter of the request for an extraordinary session sets the date that the sitting is to be held on and the agenda, which is not to be altered in the course of the sitting. The submitter of the request for extraordinary session may not request the convening of the Parliament in a period of time shorter than 15 days, counting from the day the request had been submitted, and for the agenda he may set only proposals of acts that he had prepared himself.

Exceptionally, the President of the Republic is entitled to request convening of the Parliament in extraordinary sessions in a period shorter than 15 days.

The President of the Parliament shall convene the Parliament in extraordinary sessions at a time fixed by the submitter of the request for extraordinary session.

INTERPELLATION, OPENNESS OF WORK AND ANNEX TO THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC MONTENEGRO

1. Procedure for submitting an interpellation

At least one quarter of the representatives may submit an interpellation for the discussion of certain political issues concerning work of the Government. The interpellation is submitted in writing to the President of the Parliament. The President immediately sends it to the representatives and to the Government.

The Government may examine the interpellation and submit to the Parliament a written report with its opinion and attitudes regarding the interpellation within 30 days. The President of the Parliament sends the report of the Government to the representatives.

The interpellation is put on the agenda of the first Parliament sitting following deliverance of the Government's report. If the Government hasn't submitted the report, the interpellation is put on the agenda of the sitting following the expiry of the period for submitting of the report.

The debate on the interpellation can be completed by reaching conclusions on issues initiated by the interpellation, or it may be completed without a decision. The motion for vote of non-confidence to the Government may be submitted on completion of the interpellation debate.

Representatives who have submitted the interpellation can withdraw it before the debate is completed, respectively prior to deciding on the interpellation. If during the debate some representatives withdraw from the interpellation, so that the number of representatives who submitted it decreases under the quarter, the interpellation will be deemed to be withdrawn.

2. Openness of the Parliament's work

The work of the Parliament is public. The Parliament and its working bodies shall exclude public from its work when the acts and materials marked as national secret are being examined and discussed.

Proposals of acts and other materials being examined in the Parliament and its working bodies, reports of the working bodies are to be placed at the disposal of journalists, except when by the general act on handling material in the Parliament, which is considered a national secret or is confidential, it is not provided otherwise. The Secretary General of the Parliament takes care of the openness.

RTV of Montenegro, as a rule, directly broadcasts sittings of the Parliament. From the day of calling until completion of elections for representatives in the Parliament and representatives for the Chamber of Citizens in the Federal Parliament, RTV Montenegro shall not broadcast the course of the Parliament sitting.

3. The list of words not to be used in the Parliament

(Annex to the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro)

In the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro, when talking about concrete natural or legal persons one cannot use words, expressions and their synonyms which insult human honor and dignity, particularly:

- Liar,
- Traitor,
- Spy,
- Thief,
- Murderer,
- Criminal,
- Maniac,
- Ruffian,
- Idiot,
- Fool,
- Coward,
- Poltroon,
- Fake,
- Insane,
- Mafia man

ANNEX

(Personal composition of the representative clubs, boards and commissions, after the April 2001 elections)

The Parliament consists of 77 representatives of political parties and coalitions of political parties, which gained mandates on the extraordinary parliamentary elections in April 2001, as follows:

1) "Victory is of Montenegro" – democratic coalition Milo Djukanovic (which consists of the Democratic Party of Socialists – 30 representatives and the Social – Democratic Party - 6 representatives)
2) Coalition "Together for Yugoslavia " (which consists of the Socialist People's Party – 19 representatives, People's Party- 11 representatives and the Serbian People's Party – 3 representatives 1),
3) Liberal Alliance of Montenegro – 6 representatives,
4) Democratic Union of Albanians – 1 representative
5) Democratic Alliance in Montenegro-1 representative.

The representatives are organized by parties in seven clubs of representatives, which on the day of conclusion of this guide are as follows:

1. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SOCIALISTS

1. Željko Avramovic
2. MA.Predrag Boškovic
3. Branko Cosovic
4. dr Asim Dizdarevic
5. Nada Drobnjak
6. Miloje Drobnjak
7. Goran Đukanovic
8. Vojin Đukanovic
9. Aleksandar Đurišic
10. Miraš Đurovic
11. dr Ljubica-Beba Džakovic
12. Olivera Franovic
13. Zarija Franovic
14. Nikola Gegaj
15. Dragan Kujovic

16.dr Hajran Kalac
17.Ivan Kalezic
18.Rajko Kovacevic
19.Igor Lukšic
20.Svetozar Marovic
21.dr Vuk Minic
22.dr Miomir Mugoša
23.Radivoje Nikcevic
24.dr Miodrag-Bobo Radunovic
25.dr Zvonko Vukovic
26.Luid Ljubo Škrelja
27.Husnija Šabovic
28.Miodrag Vukovic
29.Stanko Zlokovic
30.Aleksandar Žuric

2. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. dr Predrag Andelic
2. Radenko Boškovic
3. Zoran Boškovic
4. mr Srda Božovic
5. Branko Bujic
6. Predrag Bulatovic
7. Dragiša Dožic
8. Šcepan Dragovic
9. Vujadin Ðuricanin
10. dr Dragan Koprivica
11. Miljan Lauševic
12. Božidar Milovic
13. Radoje Radulovic
14. Srdan Raicevic
15. Marinko Rmuš
16. Radomir Ðukic
17. Vuksan Simonovic
18. Momcilo Vucetic
19. MA. Zoran Žižic

3. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. Pavle Cukic
2. Predrag Drecun
3. Budimir Dubak
4. Savo Đurdevac
5. Vojin Lazarevic
6. dr Lola Nikcevic
7. Predrag Popovic
8. Milenko Šarac
9. Dragan Šoc
10. Dejan Vucicevic
11. Cedomir Vracar

4. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1. Borislav Banovic
2. Miodrag Ilickovic
3. Ranko Krivokapic
4. Rifat Rastoder
5. Ervin Spahic
6. dr Milica Vuksanovic

5. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LIBERAL ALLIANCE

1. Slavko Perovic
2. Vesna Perovic
3. Miroslav Vickovic
4. Dejan Vucinic
5. mr Mirjana Kuljak
6. Miodrag Živkovic

6. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

1. Goran Danilovic
2. Andrija Mandic
3. Novak Radulovic

7. CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALBANIAN PARTIES

1. Mehmet Bardhi
2. Ferhat Dinoša

8. WORKING BODIES OF THE PARLIAMENT

BOARD FOR CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

1. Vesna Perovic, chairman(LAM)
2. Svetozar Marovic (DPS)
3. Miodrag Vukovic (DPS)
4. Ivan Kalezic (DPS)
5. Husnija Šabovic (DPS)
6. mr Zoran Žižic (SPP)
7. mr Srda Božovic (SPP)
8. Vuksan Simonovic (SPP)
9. Representative of the People's Party
10. Milenko Šarac (PS)
11. Ranko Krivokapic (SDP)
12. Novak Radulovic (SPP)
13. Mehmet Bardhi (DA)

LEGISLATIVE BOARD

1. Ivan Kalezic, chairman (DPS)
2. Miodrag Vukovic (DPS)
3. Luid Ljubo Škrelja (DPS)
4. Husnija Šabovic (DPS)

5. Marinko Rmuš (SPP)
6. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
7. Representative of the People's Party
8. Miodrag Ilickovic (SDP)
9. Miroslav Vickovic (LAM)

BOARD FOR POLITICAL SYSTEM, JUDICIARY AND ADMINISTRATION

1. Igor Lukšic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Miodrag Radunovic (DPS)
3. dr Zvonko Vukovic (DPS)
4. Nada Drobnjak (DPS)
5. Srdan Raicevic (SPP)
6. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
7. Savo Đurdevac (PP)
8. Miodrag Ilickovic (SDP)
9. Miodrag Živkovic (LAM)

i. BOARD FOR ECONOMY, FINANCE AND PROTECTION OF ENVIRONMENT

1. Vojin Đukanovic, chairman (DPS)
2. Ma. Predrag Boškovic (DPS)
3. Miraš Đurovic (DPS)
4. Aleksandar Žuric (DPS)
5. Momcilo Vucetic (SPP)
6. Dragiša Dožic (SPP)
7. Predrag Drecun (PP)
8. mr Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)
9. Ervin Spahic (SDP)

BOARD FOR EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE, HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

1. PhD. Asim Dizdarevic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Vuk Minic (DPS)
3. dr Ljubica Džakovic (DPS)
4. Olivera Franovic (DPS)
5. dr Dragan Koprivica (SPP)
6. dr Predrag Andelic (SPP)
7. Pavle Cukic (PP)
8. Borislav Banovic (SDP)
9. Ma. Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Svetozar Marovic, chairman (DPS)
2. Igor Lukšic (DPS)
3. Vuksan Simonovic (SPP)
4. dr Dragan Koprivica (SPP)
5. Predrag Drecun (PP)
6. Slavko Perovic (LAM)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

BOARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

1. Ranko Krivokapic, chairman (DPS)
2. PhD. Hajran Kalac (DPS)
3. Goran Đukanovic (DPS)
4. Miljan Lauševic (SPP)
5. Radoje Radulovic (SPP)
6. dr Lola Nikcevic (PP)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

BOARD FOR CONTROL OF WORK OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE

1. Miodrag Živkovic, chairman (LAM)
2. Željko Avramovic (DPS)

3. dr Miomir Mugoša (DPS)
4. Miloje Drobnjak (DPS)
5. Branko Cosovic (DPS)
6. Zoran Boškovic (SPP)
7. Branko Bujic (SPP)
8. Radoje Radulovic (SPP)
9. Predrag Popovic (PP)
10. Budimir Dubak (PP)
11. Borislav Banovic (SDP)

BOARD FOR EQUALITY OF SEXES

1. Nada Drobnjak, chairman (DPS)
2. dr Ljubica Džakovic (DPS)
3. Olivera Franovic (DPS)
4. Radenko Boškovic (SPP)
5. Miljan Lauševic (SPP)
6. Vesna Perovic (LAM)
7. mr Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)
8. dr Milica Vuksanovic (SDP)
9. dr Lola Nikcevic (PP)
10. Goran Danilovic (SPP)
11. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

COMMISSION FOR ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT

1. Radivoje Nikcevic, chairman (DPS)
2. Ivan Kalezic (DPS)
3. Aleksandar Đurišic (DPS)
4. Rajko Kovacevic (DPS)
5. Luid Ljubo Škrelja (DPS)
6. dr Milica Vuksanovic (SDP)
7. Šcepan Dragovic (SPP)
8. Branko Bujic (SPP)
9. Vujadin Đuricanin (SPP)
10. Savo Đurdevac (PP)
11. Dejan Vucicevic (PP)

12. Andrija Mandic (SPP)
13. Dejan Vucinic (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR THE TERM OF OFFICE AND IMMUNITY

1. Aleksandar Đurišic, chairman (DPS)
2. Željko Avramovic (DPS)
3. Miljan Lauševic (SPP)
4. Dejan Vucicevic (PP)
5. Miroslav Vickovic (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR MONITORING OF OPENNESS AND TRANSPARENCY OF THE PRIVATIZATION PROCESS

1. Momcilo Vucetic, chairman (SPP)
2. Stanko Zlokovic (DPS)
3. Miraš Đurovic (DPS)
4. Nikola Gegaj (DPS)
5. mr Predrag Boškovic (DPS)
6. Šcepan Dragovic (SPP)
7. Savo Đurdevac (PP)
8. Andrija Mandic (SPP)
9. Ervin Spahic (SDP)
10. MA. Mirjana Kuljak (LAM)

COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS ABOUT THE ASSERTIONS MADE IN THE ZAGREB NEWSPAPER "NACIONAL"

1. Vuksan Simonovic, chairman (SPP)
2. Radivoje Nikcevic (DPS)
3. Predrag Popovic (PP)
4. Borislav Banovic (SDP)
5. Miroslav Vickovic (LAM)
6. Novak Radulovic (SPP)
7. Ferhat Dinoša (DUA)

The following materials have been used for the elaboration of the “Parliamentary Guide”

1. The Constitution of the Republic Montenegro
2. The Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic Montenegro
3. The Rules of Procedure of the Government of Republic Montenegro
4. Montenegrin constitutions, organization and composition of the bodies of authority, representatives and ministers from 1946 to 1998 – by the author Slobodan Dragovic
5. Web site of the Parliament of Montenegro, www.skupstina.cg.yu

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HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

- ovo je tekst za poster -

Pursuant to article 85 of the Constitution of the Republic Montenegro, the right to introduce a law have the Government, a representative and at least 6.000 voters. In the greatest number of cases that right is exercised by the Government as a body of executive authority that lays down and conducts internal and foreign policy.

The procedure of law enactment is initiated by submitting a bill by the authorized proposer.

The bill is submitted in the form in which a law is enacted and it must be justified, and the justification contains: the constitutional basis for the law enactment, reasons for the enactment, explanation of fundamental legal institutes and assessment of the resources for its execution.

a) Bill drafting procedure if the proposer is the Government:

The competent ministry prepares a draft bill and sends it to the Government on examination and determination of the proposal. If the Government deems a public discussion to be necessary, it prescribes the program of the discussion, determines the competent body and terms in which the discussion is to take place, which cannot be shorter than 15 days.

During the preparation of the draft law, the competent ministry is obliged to entail the opinion in writing from the Republic Secretariat for Legislature on harmonization of that draft bill to the Constitution and legal system as a whole; the opinion of the Ministry of Justice for the provisions regulating sanctions, special administrative procedure and contraventions procedure. The opinion of the Ministry of Finance is also necessary for the provisions of the draft bill that propose the provision of the resources from the budget.

The period for deliverance of the above-mentioned opinions cannot be shorter than seven days, if the regulation is not being enacted summarily. Proposed solutions are harmonized to the opinions of the Republic Secretariat for Legislature, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Finance. If the competent Ministry doesn't accept the given opinions and attitudes, disputed matters are solved by the Vice- President of the Government or by a governmental Commission.

The Government examines the draft in sitting and determines the bill and submits it to the Parliament on examination and adoption.

b) Procedure with the bill in the Parliament:

The President of the Parliament delivers the bill to all the representatives, competent working bodies and the Government, if the Government is not the proposer of the law. The bill cannot be placed on the agenda of the parliamentary sitting before expiry of a period of 15 days counting from the day of its delivery to the representatives. If the bill creates obligations for the budget of the Republic Montenegro, it is also examined by the working body competent for the budget (The Board for Economy, Finance and Protection of Environment).

The competent working body submits the report to the Parliament in which it proposes adoption of the bill as a whole, with amendments or non-adoption. Examination of the bill on the parliamentary sitting may be carried out at earliest five days after the day on which the report of the competent working body was sent to the representatives, respectively the Parliament.

A proposal seeking to amend the bill is submitted in the form of an amendment in writing and it must be justified. The amendment is submitted at latest two days prior to commencement of the sitting on which the bill is being examined and it is delivered to the President of the Parliament.

The amendment to the bill is sent to representatives and the Government as well as competent working body, if that working body is not the submitter of the amendment. The competent working body is obliged to examine the amendments lodged on the bill before the parliamentary sitting and to propose to the Parliament which ones to adopt, and which ones to reject.

On the parliamentary sitting during examination of the bill, at most two representatives of proposer of the bill may participate, if the proposer is the Government or 6.000 voters

Discussion in principle and detailed discussion are conducted in the parliamentary sitting.

The discussion in principle comprises the discussion about the constitutional framework, reasons for enactment of the law, consequences which will originate for citizens, enterprises and other subjects and assessment of the resources from the budget for execution of the law. Having completed the discussion in principle the Parliament decides whether the law is adopted in principle or not.

When the bill has been adopted in principle, the Parliament moves to the detailed discussion and decides on the amendments. When moving to the detailed discussion, the Parliament decides whether to discuss the law by articles, chapters or other parts.

If the bill contains the provisions a retroactive effect is proposed for, the Parliament shall separately decide whether there is a public interest for the retroactive effect.

The Parliament decides about the amendments in accordance to the sequence of articles of the bill which the amendments seek to amend.

After completion of the discussion the Parliament takes up vote on the bill as a whole.

The law enacted by the Parliament is delivered to the President of the Republic for the promulgation, so that it could be published and enter into force. The President of the Republic promulgates the law by a decree, within seven days from the day of its adoption. The President of the Republic may, within seven days from the day of adoption, request that the Parliament decide on the law again.

The President of the Republic is obliged to promulgate law that has been adopted for a second time.

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